New Republic

APRIL 25, 1949

- **BRITISH LABOR'S NEW 5-YEAR PLAN**

  By MICHAEL YOUNG

- **NO DEPRESSION—YET**

  By GEORGE SOULE

- **MARYLAND'S SUBVERSION LAW**

  By E. T. BAKER

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

IT'S HARD TO SEE the trends in Washington for the details. The big trend, we think, is that little Harry Truman, whom Congress despises and to whom all of us condescend, is still pestering the legislature with radical bills and that an unnoticed Truman revolution is taking place.

The other day Truman suggested putting the government in the steel business. Last week he recommended a Columbia Valley Administration—a sort of TVA for the Northwest. In the meantime, Secretary of Agriculture Brannan has proposed a stronger program of government support for farmers than anybody here ever had seriously suggested. Shortly Truman will go on the air to back his compulsory national health-insurance program, which would have sounded fantastic even five years back. (While this happens domestically, America signs the first long-term military pact in its 165-year history.)

But this can't be true, it is objected. Truman doesn't get his proposals passed. If it is really a "revolution," why aren't people excited? The answer to the second question is that Truman couldn't excite anybody about anything. As to the idea that Truman projects don't pass, that is only partly so. The government isn't going to build steel plants—not now; but the ice has been broken, the suggestion has been made. Then again, a lot of Truman projects get through in watered-down form. While conservatives scream at the latest batch, an earlier batch slips through almost unnoticed.

The House rejected the TVA steam plant last year, 201 to 186; the election disposed of 70 Republicans who voted "No"; and last week the project quietly passed the House by a two to one vote. See what we mean? Federal aid to schools, housing, slum clearance, social security and what not will probably pass this Congress in one form or another. All of a sudden the ideas seem pretty mild.

It's not the public that screams over the new American revolution. The man-in-the-street is quite serene over the idea of a little socialism. It's the editors. They have been disappointed by the last five elections, but have learned nothing from them. Few people who don't travel realize just how sick American journalism now is. People commonly say, "The papers are better in the next city." As a rule, they're worse. Most editors today are so far off the main current of American thought that they make Bob Taft look like a liberal.

Here in Washington the big scene last week was when Taft rose in the GOP senate caucus behind closed doors and told ultra-conservatives the facts of life. It must have been a wonderful show. He didn't say a thing Dewey hadn't said, but from Taft it came like a thunderclap. Bricker had just tossed back his white mane and pawed the earth to tell colleagues the GOP should represent the great US segment that has "saved money, bought property and achieved independence." This is good for a cheer on any editorial page. Then Taft got up and said, in effect, that "if the GOP forgot the poor people there wouldn't be any GOP." This startling utterance confirmed Bricker's dark suspicion that Taft is a socialist.

As a matter of fact, Taft and Bricker are much the same at heart. The heads are different. Both know that the way to stop a revolution which everybody is aching for is not to oppose it directly but to divert it. On the Senate housing bill, for example, Bricker is trying to repeat his celebrated feat of splitting liberals by proposing an anti-segregation clause. Taft, in turn, has

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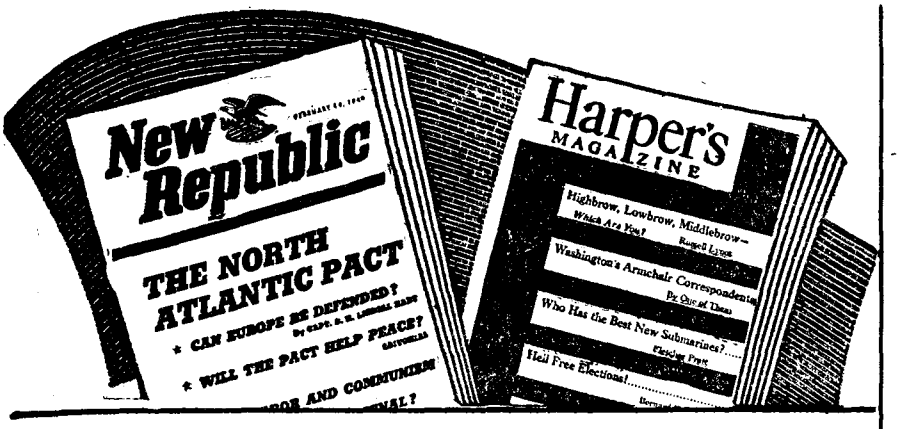

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popped up with an alternative medical bill with a means test, designed to block the Truman health program.

Another way of preventing action is simple delay. Conservatives have put on a creeping Senate filibuster. Senate schedules are 'way behind.

The House has passed all regular appropriation bills; the Senate not one. The House has passed the reciprocal-trade-agreements bill; not the Senate. The House will probably enact some sort of labor bill in four days next week; the Senate may take a month. On top of this the Senate will use up at least four weeks on the Atlantic Pact. There seems reason to think this delay is deliberate. "He attacked the 80th Congress," laugh the Taft-led conservatives; "look at us!"

Notes. Unless the Russians come to the Administration's aid, we now guess the White House budget will be trimmed, probably somewhere in the defense or foreign-aid field. . . . Congressmen are reacting to the choice between a deficit or more taxes with a new look at possible "economies." . . . We take seriously the GOP-Southern conservative drive to cut Marshall Plan aid 10 percent; we think it has a 50-50 chance because the budget outlook is so bleak. . . . Our bet is on FDR Jr. in the special election for the Sol Bloom seat in the New York Tammany district.

The efforts of the Atomic Energy Commission "to take off the wraps" for a group of correspondents proved disappointing; even after a trip to Oak Ridge the boys couldn't seem to remember what a radio isotope is. . . . A bad Northwest power shortage makes passage of the proposed Columbia Valley Authority likely. As recently as 1946, utility heads there were warning they would have "kilowatts running out of our ears." . . . Truman made a fine appointment to the FTC: John Carson, secretary to the late Senator Couzens of Michigan. . . . Military men and bankers are fading out of the Administration, but its single biggest lack is a liberal brain trust.

Washington T. R. B.

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THE SUBSTITUTE FOR TAFT-HARTLEY

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S Fair Deal administration is about to face the crucial test on its firmest campaign promise—to repeal the Taft-Hartley Act. On April 26, the House of Representatives is scheduled to begin consideration of the Thomas-Lesinski bill, the Administration's substitute for the Republican anti-labor law.

The coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans which has functioned against every Fair Deal measure proposed in this Congress is all set to offer a substitute measure of its own, to be known as the Wood bill, which would be even more unfair to labor than Taft-Hartley. The Dixie-GOP group plans to rush in with its bill immediately after the Easter recess, before many of the members have returned, in the hope that it can take the House by surprise and force the measure through without debate. John Rankin (D, Miss.) has worked this tactic successfully in the past. But it is unlikely that the Administration will be caught unawares this time on so vital a matter.

More dangerous from labor's point of view will be the small flood of crippling amendments sure to be offered to the proposed Administration bill. The strategists of the NAM have drafted dozens of restrictive provisions which anti-labor Representatives will doubtless offer on the floor. These will have to be beaten down one by one. Administration leaders in the House say that they are prepared to hold firm under all such attacks. Labor spokesmen on Capitol Hill—the legislative directors of the CIO, the AFL, the Machinists and the Railway unions—think they can count a probable majority of votes in both Houses for passage of the Thomas-Lesinski bill. However, they refuse to predict the vote when all the "compromise" amendments, contrived to appear soft and to seem to restrict unions only in the "public interest," actually come up.

Labor's fear is that the central issues may be blurred. The task of labor's friends in Congress and throughout the country is to make the issues clear, to direct the process of legislating a new labor law in such a manner that the recorded votes will show which members stood with labor and which against it.

In the face of this situation, there should be no public confusion about the evils of the T-H Act. The law was conceived in a punitive spirit, is unfit for piecemeal correction, and is a worse offense to our democratic principles than to the narrow interests of labor unions.

There was no excuse in 1947 for passing a law which, in effect, punished unions for their great strikes of 1945-46. There was no excuse for punishing unions for their conduct during the war.

The record of American labor compared favorably with the wartime record of Britain's unions—the only comparable group in a democracy—for production, for self-discipline, for genuine belief in our way of life as against totalitarian ways. The strikes of 1945-46 occurred because the cost of living was high, because city workers faced a severe cut in weekly wages due to a reduction in hours, and because corporations refused to grant wage raises voluntarily. Congress itself contributed to the strike wave because it began prematurely to cancel price controls. Despite the strikes and higher wages, corporations in 1947 and 1948 broke all profit-making records, and a high wage level today is a bulwark against severe depression.

Neither logic nor experience justified Congress in 1947 in casting aside the experience of generations, in which rule-by-injunction had gradually been limited, and exposing unions to a new flood of hostile state and federal injunctions to enforce industrial "peace."

Unions have learned with reason to hate and fear injunctions, which force men to work against their will for private employers whose profits are not equally controlled by the government. And they have shown, both through general acceptance of the wartime Smith-Connally Act and through the conduct of rail unions toward the Railway Labor Act, that they will observe reasonable waiting periods before a strike. Injunctions were not necessary to enforce these laws.

Careful analysis of experience with the Taft-Hartley Act shows that no substantial merit claimed for it stands up.

It has not reduced strikes. It has merely loaded the legal scales against unions, exposed their treasuries to harassing suits, intruded federal power to preserve "peace and order" in every hamlet. It has caused the

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loss of some strikes and provoked others, such as printers' strikes to defend their claimed right not to work side by side with non-union members. But the general pattern of strike activity after World War II was precisely the same as after World War I, when neither Taft-Hartley nor the Wagner Act was in existence—first a great outburst of walkouts, then a gradual tapering off.

The law has had only limited effect in reducing Communist influence in unions. The CIO's anti-Communist drive gained its greatest impetus when Walter Reuther was elected president of the United Automobile Workers in 1946, more than a year before Taft-Hartley. The non-Communist-affidavit sections of the law have not prevented left-wingers from holding positions of power in unions where comparable voluntary reforms did not take place. But they have introduced into our law a dangerous threat to liberty. They have stimulated the spread of "loyalty" oaths on state and local levels, with frightening potentialities of abuse.

The Thomas-Lesinski bill, proposed as the country's new basic labor law, would protect every legitimate public interest. It would continue to protect employers against minor but generally irritating union practices. And it would rid the nation of T-H's anti-union spirit.

One of its major merits is that it would abolish the specific legislative sanction for injunctions to deal with so-called "national paralysis" strikes. This sanction is an invitation to abuse, and the notion of a "paralysis" strike is a concept in a vacuum, because we have never had a strike actually halting the machinery of national existence and there is no prospect that we shall have one. Truman blew down the brief railroad strike of 1946 with a radio speech, and no true emergency strike could endure against blasts of hostile public opinion.

Cyrus S. Ching, Republican director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, reported to Congress this year that the Taft-Hartley Act's elaborate "national emergency" sections, including injunctions, had delayed the settlement of important industrial disputes rather than expedited settlement. Public members of the old War Labor Board—experienced men trusted both by unions and enlightened management—have given similar testimony.

The Thomas-Lesinski bill would eliminate T-H provisions abolishing the closed shop, limiting the union shop, and absolutely banning all secondary boycotts. The results of union-shop elections, under Taft-Hartley, have exploded the lie that rank-and-file members are helpless slaves of labor "bosses." Unions have won by an overwhelming vote more than 90 percent of the secret-ballot elections held to disclose whether the workers wanted a union shop—a contract clause providing that all eligible workers must, within a reasonable period, join the union which represents them.

The Thomas-Lesinski bill would restore to unions the right to bargain freely for a full closed shop, and would repeal the T-H provisions expressly inviting state laws against union security more drastic even than Taft-Hartley. Some types of secondary boycotts would still be prohibited, boycotts designed to harass an employer in a CIO-AFL or other intra-union row, for example. The National Labor Relations Board would still have authority to move forcefully against jurisdictional strikes in which an employer is trapped between contending unions. But a peaceful effort by unions to picket an unorganized business that undercuts all union wage scales would be protected as a legitimate exercise of free speech, just as employer free speech against unions would be protected.

The most important fact about Taft-Hartley is that it cannot be wisely amended. Organized labor, as a powerful special interest in our society, is clearly subject to appropriate regulation by Congress, but Taft-Hartley is not the base from which to start.

The law adversely affected, financially and psychologically, at least 45 million Americans—union members and their families. A statute "against" so large a part of our population is preposterous; that is why thousands of employers have connived with unions in evading and avoiding its most stringent terms. But the grosser evil was not the attack on unions; it was the offense against our democratic principles and the clear understanding that free unions cannot be frozen into a separate category but must be left at liberty to help solve the complex issues of management-labor relations in a dynamic society.

Taft-Hartley, properly understood, is a belated and more stringent American parallel of the British Trades Disputes Act of 1926, passed by a Tory government as an attempted answer to a genuine emergency—a general strike. The British law collapsed, as punitive restrictions on labor have always collapsed in free societies, and even Conservative governments never attempted to enforce its letter. But enactment of the law gave labor in Britain a permanent sense of grievance. Twenty years later, after Clement Attlee's government came to power, the law was repealed. It should not take America 20 years to get rid of Taft-Hartley.

Adoption of the Thomas-Lesinski bill would show that the 81st Congress has the spirit and intelligence to undo the worst act of its predecessor. It would tell the world that American democracy, in the domestic field, is back on its central progressive course.

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THE WEEK

SEASON OF HOPE

All over the country, the men and women of organized labor are meeting with their Representatives who are at home for the brief Easter recess. The CIO, the AFL, the Machinists and the Railway unions made special preparations for this congressional homecoming. CIO President Philip Murray wrote to all local officers that meetings with the Representatives should be "a first and important order of business for all CIO organizations during the next three weeks." The other organization heads have conveyed the same message down the line.

In addition to the personal calls that are being paid there will be mass meetings to protest anew against Taft-Hartley—probably several hundred of them, many jointly sponsored by all branches of labor in the locality. It is reasonable to suppose that such meetings will get attention in local newspapers, even though editorially these papers favor T-H.

Even before the House recessed, labor's Washington lobbyists were feeling considerably encouraged. In the last several weeks the Capital has been inundated by a steady flow of labor visitors from the key industrial states of the country. The AFL, working without any fanfare, had local men in twos and threes politely asking questions of all the "doubtful" voters in both Houses. A checkback showed that the visits had good effect—the latest list compiled by legislative representatives of the four big labor bodies indicates a probable majority for the Administration's new labor bill in both the Senate and the House.

Even Republican congressmen who had been considering joining with Senator Taft in resisting more than the mildest changes in the present Taft-Hartley Act seemed impressed when reminded of what has happened to leading Taft consorts of recent years—Joe Ball and Fred Hartley in particular. "Don't go out with Taft in '50" shows promise of becoming an effective labor slogan when the Thomas-Lesinski bill finally reaches the House floor immediately after the recess and later in the Senate.

While House members listened to the home folks, the Senators have been paying the price of their earlier filibusters—no vacation. The Administration's long-range public-housing bill seems assured of Senate passage without much change. Federal aid to education, scheduled for next consideration, is given a reasonable chance of passage too. But the real trouble this year, as in the past, on both these measures will come in the House.

The Easter season has brought a general resurgence of mild optimism among liberal and labor observers in Washington. Some of the sharper-eyed ones think they see the winter ice beginning to melt. The Tafts and Wherrys can feed off successful filibusters only so long. Their combination must have solid victories to keep its top-dog position of recent weeks. Rent control and the TVA issue certainly were not that. Neither is housing or labor likely to be clearly that.

Liberal supporters of the Fair Deal tell each other for comfort that even the present leadership of the Senate is bound to have learned something from the experiences of these past three months. And with the Taft crowd beginning to run, a real show of interest now from the people who put Truman into office might cause a considerable change in the Washington political climate.

NEBRASKA PRIMARY REFORM

LINCOLN (NR correspondent)

A bill to make the state's presidential primary more meaningful, which passed the Nebraska legislature this session, has been signed by the Governor. The measure will:

1. Provide a more accurate gauge of voter opinion on potential candidates for the presidential nomination, and

2. Assure a real test even when a "favorite-son" candidate is entered in the race merely to confuse the voters.

The bill would allow voters to make a first and second choice for both President and Vice President. All candidates would be listed twice on the ballot—once under "First Choice" and again under a "Second Choice" heading. The two would be voted on and tabulated separately. However, the voter cannot put his "X" for the same candidate in both places. If he does, the bill provides that the tabulators shall count it as a "first choice" vote only. In other words, he must produce a genuine grading of candidates, with some of the elements of preferential voting in actual elections.

In the "all star" presidential primary staged in Nebraska last April, Harold Stassen won a clear-cut victory a week after his Wisconsin triumph. Governor Dewey was second, and Taft ran a poor third. All three campaigned vigorously in Nebraska. Senator Vandenberg, who was so badly beaten by Dewey in the 1940 Nebraska presidential primary that he was most unhappy at being entered in this one, came in a good fourth. Speaker Martin and General MacArthur, *et al.*, brought up the rear.

The vote furnished a good test of GOP grass-roots sentiment. But it would have been a much better test if voters had been able to make both first and second choices. Although Stassen had a good plurality, he did not have a majority, perhaps because there were so many candidates in the field. If he had also won a "second-choice" race, with votes, say, from those who backed Vandenberg, Dewey or even Taft as their first choice, this would have given him a definite edge. On the other hand, Vandenberg, who ran fourth, might have shown up as the leading second-choice candidate.

The Nebraska free-for-all presiden-

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tial primary was a good one in 1948. The 1952 primary will be even better now that the bill has been made law. With a second choice allowed, voters can be loyal to good old "Senator Snort" and still indicate their true preference.

POWER LOBBY THWARTED

In approving an appropriation to start work on a TVA steam plant at New Johnsonville, Tennessee, the Senate has righted a great wrong committed by the 80th Congress and may have cleared the way for prompt action on the whole series of regional development plans the Truman Administration favors.

Last year the private-power lobby had enough strength in the House to block the $2.5 million steam-plant appropriation. This year, after the House approved the New Johnsonville project, the power lobby, having counted noses, did not even try for outright defeat of the authorization in the Senate. It did figure it still had strength enough to push through an amendment offered by Senator Homer Ferguson (R, Mich.), to delay action for two more years. When the roll was called, however, the private-power interests were seven votes short despite the fact that such "liberal" Republicans as Senators Flanders (Vt.), Ives (N.Y.), Smith (Me.) and Lodge (Mass.) voted against public power.

Advocates of regional development in the Columbia, the Missouri, and even in the hitherto little explored area of the Arkansas, White and Red River Valleys have been encouraged by the steam-plant vote. Authorization for a Columbia Valley Administration has priority over the others. President Truman's special message to Congress calling for a CVA, consolidating federal power, irrigation, reclamation and flood-control projects in the Pacific Northwest, points out that "the waters of the Columbia River system are capable of eventually producing more than 30 million kilowatts of electric power, of which only a little more than 3 million kilowatts are now installed." More than 40 percent of the nation's saw timber and many important minerals, including 60 percent of known phosphate reserves, are in that region.

The President's plan would coördinate the various federal projects now operating in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and western Montana. A CVA would consolidate the work being done at present by the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bonneville Power Administration in the Interior Department, and the Army Corps of Engineers. "Properly developed and conserved," the President said, "the resources of the Columbia Valley region can furnish enormous benefits to the people living there and to the nation as a whole."

Democratic Representatives Hugh Mitchell and Henry Jackson and Senator Warren Magnuson, all of Washington, introduced bills authorizing a CVA immediately following the President's message. The Missouri Valley Authority bill, which got the brushoff from the 80th Congress, is now before a Senate Public Works subcommittee. The third mammoth development—the Arkansas, White and Red River basins—has been embodied in a bill by Robert Kerr (D, Okla.) and 10 other Senators which would set up a 13-man commission to investigate a plan for developing the land and water resources of eight states—Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Texas.

Unfortunately, all these valley-authority bills have been routed into the House and Senate Public Works Committees, which are dominated by anti-public-power congressmen. Representative William Whittington (D, Miss), chairman of the House committee, and Senator John McClellan (D, Ark.), a member of the Senate committee, hold the top two positions in the Rivers and Harbors Congress,

"They're repairing the White House, ain't they?"

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a pressure group which has consistently sided with the Army Engineers and the navigation interests against public power.

The quickest way to expedite matters would be for President Truman now to follow the recommendations of the Hoover Commission to reorganize the Army Engineers and relieve them of their present civil functions.

BARKLEY AND THE REBELS

BIRMINGHAM (NR correspondent)

Vice President Alben Barkley has struck the first post-election blow to break the back of the Dixiecrat movement and solidify the Democratic Party in Alabama and other bolter states. At a carefully planned Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner rally in Birmingham on the fourth anniversary of Franklin Roosevelt's death, the Vice President, with characteristic vigor and oratorical skill, simply overwhelmed the outpouring of more than 1,100 Democrats who had gathered from over the state.

States'-rights Democratic leaders, skipping nimbly around the political ring and rolling with the burly Vice President's punch, struck back with all their force. In a joint statement timed to coincide with Barkley's address, Alabama's anti-Truman presidential electors of last year declared renewed war against the national Democratic Party and its "civil-rights" proposals. Some of them had participated in a Dixiecrat rally held four days earlier at Dothan. But the Republican flavor of that meeting in Alabama's wiregrass section had chilled many hitherto enthusiastic followers of the states'-rights movement. They are cool toward President Truman and Howard McGrath, but cooler still to any merger with the GOP.

The eleven electors who voted for the Thurmond-Wright States' Rights ticket said: "We declare with all emphasis at our command that there is no armistice between the vast majority of the Democrats of Alabama and those who currently control the party now in favor." The electors cautioned against "any change whatsoever" in present methods of nominating and electing presidential electors in Alabama. (This was the only state that had no electoral candidates representing the Truman-Barkley ticket on the general ballot last November.)

Barkley, who was given thunderous and prolonged applause at the Birmingham dinner, warned that a permanent split in the Democratic Party would have tragic results. He decried "minority parties" and struck hard at the states'-rights movement, which he never referred to by name. Barkley veered away from "civil-rights" proposals, which led to the Dixiecrat revolt and party split. But he didn't dodge the touchy issue completely. He said he thought there was a "strong probability" that some of the measures would be enacted.

The Kentuckian recalled the "long and fruitful partnership" between the Democratic Party and the Southern states. He pointed to the many benefits that have come to the South under Franklin D. Roosevelt and other party leaders and said "it would be a tragedy if that partnership were destroyed."

Three Alabama Representatives—Albert Rains, Bob Jones and Carl Elliott—accompanied the Vice President here. Senators Lister Hill and John Sparkman and Representatives Laurie Battle and Edward deGraffenreid had accepted invitations. Congressional business kept them tied up in Washington. Hill introduced Barkley in a radio broadcast and Sparkman spoke briefly on the air. Both lauded the Vice President and wished the meeting well.

Barkley's visit to Alabama—his first to any of the bolter states since the election—should help Lister Hill's campaign for reëlection next year when the Dixiecrats will do their best to defeat him.

The Vice President made it plain he did not come to the Deep South to appease anybody. But he emphasized his belief that all Democrats could work together in harmony and with mutual advantage. Observers think Barkley's visit to Alabama will do much to get Democrats to close ranks and march together again.

THE SUITCASE FARMER

PIERRE, S. D. (NR correspondent)

In recent years, millions of acres of sod have been plowed up in the High Plains to plant high-profit wheat for war and postwar needs. As a result the Great Plains Agricultural Council estimates (on reports from 425 county agricultural agents) that from 8 to 10 million acres are now constantly "subject to wind erosion." Several times the Plains have thus teetered on the edge of a new dust-bowl disaster. Soil-conservation experts have come up with no permanent solution.

The experts advise permanent residents that better tillage methods will help save the lands they own. But the big problem resides not in them, but in the gambler, the "suitcase farmer" who leases prairie sod and tears it up, mines out its fertility, gets away with a wheat crop and in many cases has got rich—but who will move out the instant the soil ceases to "pay."

Some attempts have been made by law to curb this. In Colorado, resident farmers formerly held the sole power to make plowing rules in soil-conservation districts, but in 1945 the state legislature tore up this law and invited the transients in. In Iowa last year a court awarded $500 damages against a tenant who plowed without paying any attention to a contract which said he must consult the landlord first.

The latest attempt of this kind was made by the South Dakota legislature—to curb "suitcase farming" by making it expensive. The legislation, just passed, defines a "transient farmer" as a non-resident who leases South Dakota land for the purpose of farming. It compels him to take out a license from the county auditor before plowing, and to pay the county two percent of his gross proceeds. If he has not sold his crop by December 31, he has to pay two percent of its net worth anyway. The fine for attempted evasion of the tax is an additional 25 percent of the amount due.

The bill exempts residents and non-residents who own, not lease, South Dakota land.

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

The German Junker thesis after World War I was that only part of the nation was responsible for Germany's failure to win her place in the sun—the home front had collapsed but the army hadn't been defeated. The German Nazi thesis between the two wars was that only part of a part of the nation had been responsible: traitors had stabbed the army in the back. Now the German democrats have a thesis to explain what happened in World War II—Dr. Konrad Adenauer, head of the Christian Democrats, the largest party in Western Germany, says that in 1945 the Allies defeated the German army but not the German people. The Manchester *Guardian* comments: "Dr. Adenauer asserted that living conditions in Germany were 'worse than those in the Balkans a hundred years ago'."

This tribute to the Allies' costly but successful efforts to prevent Adenauer's compatriots from starving was admittedly less than gracious, but he went on to justify his contention that the Germans deserve better of their conquerors by explaining that, in 1945, they defeated the German army but not the German people. However, this curious inversion of a Nazi thesis scarcely justifies Adenauer's conclusion that the "utter chaos" which now prevails in Germany can only be cured by "giving back to the people as soon as possible the control of their own affairs." Adenauer, like so many of his countrymen, seems to forget that the last time they had "control of their own affairs" they elected a leader who encouraged them to murder about twelve million Europeans.

There are other evidences that the new German democracy isn't very different from the old German nationalisms. Andreas Hermes, once of Adenauer's party, now head of the "German Union," has been flirting openly with the Soviets, using this association as potential blackmail to get further concessions from the Western Allies.

From Bavaria, Drew Middleton of the New York *Times* reports "a political situation in which neo-Fascism and authoritarianism are winning and democracy is losing." He writes:

> Longing for the "internal efficiency" of National Socialism is reviving, especially among veterans, the young people and Bavaria's 2,000,000 Germans expelled from Eastern Europe. Communism is a minor danger. . . . Of all developments the most dangerous is the return of authoritarianism. . . . It is a deep-seated belief in government from the top down with no interference from the people . . . the idea is older and hardier than National Socialism. . . . Today 83 percent of the judges and 81 percent of the prosecutors in Bavarian courts are former Nazi party members. . . . In the Ministry of Finance 61 percent of the officials are former Nazis and in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare the figure is 22 percent. . . .

The London *New Statesman and Nation* is concerned about the situation. It writes:

> There is growing evidence that the Center and right-wing politicians are being dangerously encouraged by a belief that Washington favors a "strong" Germany. They seem to feel that voices may now safely be raised in increasingly nationalist tones.

And the London *Economist*, a staunchly conservative publication, is distressed by the recent concessions to the Germans. It writes:

> The *Economist* has always maintained that the whole conception of industrial disarmament was disastrous and that the restoration of Germany's power to produce was an essential element in final pacification. But it is nevertheless true that the methods whereby the restoration of German industry is being achieved are politically as ill conceived as it is possible to imagine.
>
> German pressure is proving successful just as Germans are recovering their old aggressive self-confidence. They are, in fact, being given every inducement to believe that they can "get away" with anything, and it is deeply disturbing that at this juncture a man of such a blameless record as Dr. Adenauer should publicly dispute the Allies' right to administer Germany on the grounds that the German army and not the German people capitulated in 1945. The words have an ominous ring and only underline the need of making the Allies' few instruments of lasting control—the Ruhr Authority and the Military Control Board—into really decisive and effective instruments.

This is a conservative British view. Naturally the concern in France—in all parties—about the present trend in Germany is greater.

But the American attitude (or at least the attitude of a part of America) is apparently quite different. *Time* is advertising widely in Western Europe a report on Germany by the chief of its Berlin bureau, Emmet Hughes, an able young man who served his apprenticeship in the study of liberal democracy as press attaché in Franco Madrid under the tutelage of Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes. In the publication of Henry Luce who has long since completed his apprenticeship in the study of liberalism, Hughes writes:

> The West must decide whether we want Germany to be a colony or a free and stable country. It is impossible to have both. . . . If the West wants to see Germany a free and stable country, it must take the risk of giving Germany's democrats a reasonably strong government that can command some respect and get things done.

On the record, it seems a rather big risk (since *Time* doesn't stress the controls which the *Economist* considers all-important). Not only in Paris but all over Western Europe the great question, the great doubt, is about the kind of freedom the Germans would choose if they were given the chance, and about what they would do with it when they got it. But perhaps the chips are down; perhaps the decision has already been taken; perhaps the Germans are finally to be given their place in the sun of the American Century.

PERCY WINNER

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IT'S NOT A DEPRESSION—YET

An economist looks at the signs and suggests that prosperity can be sustained only by sound policy, not luck

by George Soule

PERHAPS the best way to find out whether we are sliding into a depression would be to poll a list of forecasters and then take a position contrary to that of a majority. Most of them were wrong in 1929, 1937, 1945, 1946 and 1947. Yet their judgment might be as good as that of a tossed penny: by mere chance they might be right. Anyone who is asked to make public a prediction would be safer to go back into his burrow like the groundhog, which looks for his shadow but says nothing.

Words like inflation, deflation, recession, depression are bandied about without much precision. Of course we have not got rid of the business cycle. The curve of aggregate business activity, charted with care by statisticians, will continue to show oscillations. But that does not tell us much about what we really want to know. Even if it were certain that we had passed the peak of the curve and were on the downgrade, the most important questions would remain. Recessions come in all styles and sizes. Some are long, some are short; some have sharp breaks of prices, others gentle declines; some are marked by severe restriction of production and employment, others are so mild that they are barely noticeable at the time and appear later merely as a statistical dip when compared with what preceded and what followed.

The least hazardous guess is that inflation in the sense of rapidly rising prices has temporarily run its course. The general index of wholesale commodity prices has been falling since last August. At latest report it was about the same as the 158.5 level of October, 1947, after having bulged to 169.5 in the meantime. It is now down almost to the inflationary peak of 1920, which was 154.4. How low this is may be seen by comparing it with the 100 of 1926, the 64.8 of 1932 and the 78.6 of 1940. The index has not previously fallen consecutively for six months since 1938.

The greater part of this decline was occasioned by the drop in farm products and food. By contrast, the prices of coal, glass and clay products, metals —such materials as go into automobiles, housing, fuel and power—increased substantially. But these increases now seem to have come to a halt, and some declines have appeared, as in steel scrap and oil. Textile products have recently been falling, as has the average of all non-food products.

Unless demand markedly increases, there is no reason to expect any important reversal of this downward tendency of wholesale prices, since crops are abundant both here and in Europe, and the supply of some other commodities has been creeping upward. But there is no reason to expect a precipitate drop either, like that from the 154.4 of 1920 to the 97.6 of 1921. During that deflation the prices of crops were cut in half. Now farm products have bumped into government supports, which did not exist in 1920. There was no Marshall Plan after World War I. If we agree to call what happened then deflation, we do not have it now. I would be inclined to say that even disinflation is too strong a word. Maybe it is just exflation.

The consumer's price index began to fall in September, and has eased off from 174.5 at that time to 169 on February 15, 1949—a magnificent decline of 3.2 percent. The cost of living is still 26.8 percent higher than in June, 1946, when price control collapsed, and 71.4 percent above August, 1939, just before the outbreak of war. The drop has come mainly in foods, apparel and house-furnishings. Rent, fuel, light and miscellaneous items have been creeping up. The widely heralded cut in prices of General Motors cars amounted to about one percent, after a six-percent increase near the end of last year. Even if some retail prices should fall a little more, no substantial relief is in sight. After World War I, when the collapse of wholesale prices was the sharpest ever experienced, the cost of living fell only 12 or 13 percent in two years. The same percentage fall now would bring the index down to about 150—higher than in 1946. Not so great a drop is now likely.

No consistent decline is shown in the over-all figures of production or employment. At the end of 1948 the index of industrial production was close to the highest point attained since the end of the war—in December it was about 92 percent above the level of 1935-39. Non-agricultural employment was also near its top, 50 percent above 1939. Factory payrolls were close to their all-time high. Whatever may come, this situation can hardly be called even a Truman depression. To be sure, there were numerous reports of layoffs in January and February, somewhat more than is customary at this time of year, but the total number employed remained larger than in the same months of 1948. If employment recovers in the spring, as usual, the little dip will be regarded as a normal seasonal movement rather than as part of a downward trend.

If a general business recession, even a moderate one, is in store, the signs of it must be sought elsewhere than in these statistics. There are a number of slackening markets which may or may not be significant of trouble. It is these which attract attention because they offer such a bright contrast to the days when there was not enough of anything to satisfy the demand. Retail trade declined a little toward the end of 1948. Men's apparel and women's dresses have suffered. For the first time in years excess stocks were offered in

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post-Christmas sales. The outlook in the textile industry is so uncertain that the union, after having suffered adverse arbitral decisions in its demand for higher wages, called a halt. Some new houses cannot be sold at the prevailing high prices. Kaiser-Frazer and Hudson have cut production and laid off men. Other cars in the higher price brackets can be obtained without waiting. The used-car market has been slipping. Many other consumers' durable goods have caught up with demand at existing prices.

Slackening demand in any part of the economy, reflected in unemployment, can pyramid into slackening demand in other parts. It does not necessarily do so. All through the prosperous 1920's, for instance, we had sick industries like agriculture, cotton textiles and bituminous coal. The business cycle itself is not a parallel movement of all industries on a common front; always some factors are on the way down while others are on the way up. What happens in the aggregate depends on the total balance of the economy. If the body is in a healthy condition, local sources of infection are less likely to spread. Let us turn, then, to a broader view of the economic balance.

Consumers are buying much more than before the war, but there is much more to buy. The gross national product has grown in both money and real terms. The share of this product which went to consumers in 1947 was 71 percent; in 1948 it was 70 percent. But in 1939, consumers took 75 percent of it, and in 1929—a year of high prosperity and heavy investment—76 percent of the product went to consumers. Government is now absorbing a larger share than it did in either of these earlier years, but equally marked is the unusually high proportion of the product which has been going to supply the purchases of capital goods for business investment. Private capital expenditures in the United States have been running at about 15 percent of the gross national product.

There is a controversy as to whether this level of capital investment is too high to last. One school argues that it is. The President's Council of Economic Advisers contends that it stems mainly from making up the deficiencies in industrial growth which occurred during and before the war, and that the percentage of our total product which goes into capital is likely to shrink, perhaps to 11 or 12 percent. Others maintain that businessmen will continue to invest at the present rate for a long time to come unless the government or labor does something which chills their delicate confidence—something like raising taxes or using bad words like socialism.

As long as the present level of investment does continue, we need have no worry about any severe recession. But if investment should taper off, then consumer or government purchases would have to increase to take its place, or there would not be enough demand to avoid serious unemployment. The Council of Economic Advisers believes that within a few years consumers will have to absorb about 75 percent of the national product if that product is not to shrink. At the present growth of production, this would mean an increase of consumption at the rate of four percent a year, or three percent per capita.

That is why the recent hesitancy of retail sales causes some alarm. Ever since 1946, the average level of real wages has been slipping. While some have received wage boosts sufficient to cope with the rising cost of living, many other consumers with less easily changed wages and salaries, and those with fixed incomes, have been falling behind the procession, as they always do in an inflationary period. Some have spent their war savings. Others have extended their borrowings to buy cars or houses. Consumers' disposable income per capita (annual rate at 1947 prices) was $1,288 in 1946, $1,208 in the first half of 1947, $1,200 in the second half of 1947, and $1,200 in the first half of 1948. If the amount bought by consumers does not increase from now on as the capacity for producing goods destined for retail markets grows, we are in for trouble. Business would not for long keep investing at the present rate if it could not sell the goods to be produced by the new machinery and factories.

Business, raising the prices of its products while demand exceeded supply, accumulated tremendous and steadily growing profits. A large part of these profits was used for expansion. Now that prices have started to fall, business could keep production and employment high by letting prices drop to the point where consumers could buy everything that could be produced, even if this meant somewhat lower profits. In that case investment might go on without any marked halt, though at a lower percentage of the total product. But if business tries to hold up profits by maintaining prices at the expense of the volume of sales, there will be more unemployment, diminished national production, fewer profits and a sharp drop in investment.

Shifts in the amount of capital investment mark the swings of the business cycle; this is one of the most volatile factors in the whole economy. What is the present outlook for investment?

A survey of intentions, by the McGraw Hill Company, indicates that investment in productive equipment planned for 1949 is almost as high as in 1948. But it is of a different character; instead of being mainly for expansion of capacity it is more largely to replace old machinery with up-to-date equipment.

Business is already holding off on construction because of high costs and other uncertainties.

Housing accounts for more than half of total construction and has been running between one-fifth and one-sixth of total gross investment. The value of residential contracts awarded has been falling ever since last July. The number of new dwelling units started has been falling since last spring. The housing shortage is far from made up, but not enough people can buy at the prices asked, and mortgage money has been running low.

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The growth of business inventories, which rose steadily after the war, has flattened out, especially in non-durable goods. A drop of inventories would be one of the surest signs of recession. During the years between World War I and World War II the fluctuation of inventories alone accounted for about half the difference in the flow of investment between the top of prosperity and the bottom of depression.

Foreign investment, though far smaller than domestic, has already shrunk substantially and is likely to get smaller as the Marshall Plan progresses and our imports increase.

There is therefore no certainty of expansion in a single one of the great categories of investment, and a fall is occurring in one of the most important —housing construction. If a decline of private investment should acquire momentum, the storm warnings would be flying.

Government and the banking system provide the channels through which money is poured into the economy or is drained out of it. The pouring in of money increases demand; the draining out decreases it.

The war expenditures of government, financed to a large extent by the expansion of bank loans and investments, were the primary source, first of full employment, then of inflation. Ever since 1946 government has been playing a restrictive role. Instead of having a deficit, it has taken more money from the public than it has paid back. By tending to decrease the amount of purchasing power, this would bring deflation if spending were not at the same time increased in the private sector of the economy by the use of accumulated savings and new borrowing from the banks.

In 1947 government exerted $6.7 billion of counter-inflationary pressure. (The figures include federal, state and local governments.) In the first half of 1948, government was taking in money at an annual rate of $12 billion more than it was paying out. In the second half of 1948, the government cash surplus declined to the annual rate of $2.8 billion. The effect of reduced taxes and higher defense expenditures was beginning to be felt.

The fact that last year inflation still continued, in spite of the anti-inflationary fiscal policy, may be regarded as a measure of the latent upward tendency in the private sector of the economy. Perhaps the leveling off in the latter part of the year could be attributed in part to a delayed effect of the government surplus.

Unless taxes are now increased, there will probably be a federal deficit in 1949. Already the anti-inflationary pressure of government has been reduced by some $10 billion within six months. There is little doubt that a sufficient increase in public expenditures, without a corresponding increase in revenues, could start the inflationary spiral upward again. On the other hand, a sufficiently large surplus could reinforce any deflationary tendencies in the economy. Where to draw the line, and just when to shift the pressure from one side of the balance to the other, is the puzzle.

As far as the banking system is concerned, it can either apply the brakes or pull out the throttle according to need. Until recently it has been gently applying the brakes. Still stronger downward pressure could be exerted if the Federal Reserve Banks should start to sell government bonds, since this would reduce bank reserves and compel a restriction of bank credit. The authorities of the system have been opposed to this measure, but instead have stiffened the requirements for banking reserves. The power to do so, which expires in June, they want renewed. On the other hand, if circumstances should require a relaxation of credit restrictions, they have almost unlimited scope. The gold reserve would support an expansion far greater than that which we have had. No recession need be caused by any banking crisis. Fear of the unused inflationary possibilities in the banking structure has been the chief concern.

We are not in a depression. There is some chance that the economic tide has started to recede. Any recession will be moderate if business allows prices to fall so as to maintain and increase consumer demand, instead of keeping prices up, cutting production and laying off men.

There is also a chance that inflation will be resumed, as it was after the dips in early 1947 and 1948. In this case the absence of a surplus in the federal budget would be a severely aggravating factor. The longer inflation continues, the greater will be the distortion in the pattern of consumers' incomes and purchasing power. For this and other reasons, the greater will be the danger of a really severe depression to follow.

A higher tax on corporate profits would be appropriate to either inflation or recession. If inflation does continue, the tax can yield a budget surplus which will be counter-inflationary. If deflation is in process, profits will shrink, the yield of the tax will rapidly drop, and the needed budget deficit will appear.

The Federal Reserve Board, if fortified with renewal of its present powers, would be in a position to move quickly in either required direction.

The standby anti-inflationary controls which the President asks, such as allocation of scarce commodities and price control in special cases, will do no harm if they do not have to be employed; their absence might do a good deal of harm if they should be needed.

A large public housing program, if now authorized, would take some time to get under way. It might be just what was required to fill in a slump in building. In any case it would supply a want which the private builders cannot satisfy.

The social-security program is, by and large, counter-cyclical, and its extension would emphasize its effect. Higher minimum wages are required to help repair the present distortion of incomes.

Whether we are to have a depression, more inflation, or a mild and salutary readjustment will depend largely, not on blind fate, but on what we do. Good business policies can supply part of the answer; good government policies the rest.

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BRITISH LABOR'S NEW FIVE-YEAR PLAN

by Michael Young

A BLACK WEEK for British Labor ended on April 13 with the publication of the party's election program.

Sir Stafford Cripps, introducing the April 6 budget which wrote Austerity in neon lights, said he refused to court electoral popularity. Labor canvassers, tramping down the shabby streets of London to get out the vote for the following day's County Council poll, saw just what Cripps meant. In Herbert Morrison's stronghold for 15 years, the Conservatives polled more votes than Labor. Saint Cripps's day, crowed the Tories, marks the end of the Socialist dream. For Churchill and a Tory England, advance!

But there was life in the Socialists yet. Their new program didn't look like the creed of a defeated party. It looked more like Britain's five-year plan.

For months, the leaders of the party had been meeting calmly in the backrooms of Transport House and Whitehall. Certainly their job was no easy one. With the aid of local Labor Party discussion groups and the advice of the trade unions and the coöperative movement, they had to do 20 years' thinking in six months. But labor leaders excel in such discussions. They have a knack of reaching unanimous conclusions by starting all over again when there is disagreement. They are weak on theory, but strong on common sense. The resulting program will not make hearts beat faster with revolutionary fervor, but it is a hard-headed plan for action in Labor's second five years.

The Labor Party is committed by its constitution to the public ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Some members of the party, taking this as their text, believe that socialism equals public ownership. They want to race forward with further nationalization. Others follow Morrison, who, at the annual conference of 1948, urged the party to consolidate the advances made since 1945 before taking other industries into the Socialist fold.

The program does not completely settle this issue. Scheduled for public ownership are water supply, mineral deposits, meat wholesaling and processing, cold storage, the sugar industry, the cement industry and, most controversial of all, industrial life insurance. These are a very much smaller slice of the national economy—employing only about 250,000 people in all—than the industries employing 2.25 millions which were put forward for nationalization in 1945.

But this is not all. The program asks a mandate for extending public ownership to certain other industries if the future Labor Government decides that is the wise thing to do. If necessary, shipbuilding and sections of the chemical industry—Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., for example—will be nationalized. This formula is not a weak compromise between the views of Morrison and Aneurin Bevan. It embodies the belief of all the leaders that some discretion should be left to the post-1950 Labor cabinet.

Perhaps the most important proposals for public ownership are made in the section devoted to private enterprise. Many of the wartime controls are now losing their effectiveness, as supplies of key materials like steel become more plentiful. This time, Labor had to decide on a more permanent policy for the mixed economy. Full employment, of course; Keynes is swallowed whole. Control of investment, of course. But how to prod private employers to improve productivity?

The party leaders come out for competition. Not just competition in theory, but in practice, throughout an economy that has become well-nigh strangled by capitalist cartels and other restrictions. Public ownership, not of whole industries, but parts of them, will be used to make this competition work. Individual companies which refuse to surrender monopoly power, or would be most efficient if run as monopolies, will be nationalized. And new public enterprises will be started to compete with private firms in industries like cotton which need gingering up.

The party favors public help for private firms, particularly the small concerns which are still the backbone of British industry. Information will be supplied about the applications of scientific discovery, through development councils established in each main industry. Factories will be built by the state and leased to private firms. Machinery will be rented to manufacturers. Public finance corporations will lend money for reëquipment. A campaign for more standardization will be launched. Wherever inefficient employers fail to take advantage of this help they will find themselves up against the competition of public enterprise.

A bastard blend of Adam Smith and Karl Marx, this will seem to some Socialists. Others will consider it a sensible way out of the dilemma of social democrats who put their faith in public ownership while relying upon private firms to increase their productivity in the interests of the people's standard of living.

The approach to distribution is equally pragmatic. The cost of living is too high and must be reduced. The distributive system is partly to blame. The economies of production get lost somewhere between the factory and the consumer. What is to be done?

Some monopolists—the sugar kings, for example—are making profits that are too high: nationalize them. Manufacturers and retailers agree to fix minimum prices for branded goods: make it illegal to maintain prices, and thereby encourage the price-cutting shop. Government purchasing—socialization of demand, it has been called—has worked well in war and peace:

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extend it. Let the government buy standard consumers' goods from manufacturers and resell to the public. And so on.

The program offers no revolutionary changes in the social services, and the reason was made plain in Cripps's budget speech. The social services have expanded in the last four years faster than in any comparable period in any other country. An average family receives from the state the equivalent of about $12 a week in the form of social benefits. For this the bill has to be paid, so 40 percent of the national income is taken in taxes to cover these social services, plus defense and other government expenditures. There is not much more to be got from the rich; very few people now have net incomes of as much as $20,000 a year. Taxes on wage earners cannot be increased. So the social services cannot be expanded further until production goes up or defense costs come down.

Labor therefore says that the main job for the second five years is to complete the new social services begun since 1945. The only new departures are an industrial health service and a "Holidays Council" which will convert some of the stately homes of Britain into family vacation centers for workers from the industrial areas.

There will be plenty of opposition: from the Socialist Left, who will claim that Labor is now going to bolster up the capitalism it is pledged to destroy; from the Communists, who will denounce retrenchment in the social services as the logical consequence of subservience to the Marshall Planners and the North Atlantic "War Pact"; from the Conservatives, who will try to scare every employer with the prospect of state competition.

But my hunch is that the program will, after amendment at the coming Annual Conference at Blackpool, shape up into a policy which will command the support of the labor movement and the electorate. It may be pragmatic. But so is the voter. It may be cautious. But so is the voter. It is the program of a party which is slowly maturing in face of the responsibilities of power.

MARYLAND BETRAYS ITS PAST

The state once called free adopts the most repressive law on sedition yet to be enacted by any of the legislatures

by E. T. Baker

MARYLAND, once called the Free State, has just enacted the most comprehensive, and in some respects the most severe, anti-subversion law yet passed in the United States.

Its sponsors hope that it will become a model for other state and federal laws, and, since both the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the FBI had a part in its conception, perhaps it will. Whether it does or not, the fact that the people of Maryland have swallowed it with so little pain is in itself symptomatic of the extent to which reason has given way to fear and inquiry to dogma.

Maryland has not been called the Free State for nothing. Historically it, even more than most states, has been jealous of its liberties. It recognized—and treated—Prohibition as the joke it was. Maryland has no repressive labor laws and, until last fall, was one of the three states which had not bothered to dignify Communism by special legislation. Its Declaration of Rights assures its citizens "that all government of right originates from the people, is founded in compact only and instituted solely for the good of the whole; and they have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter, reform or abolish their form of government in such manner as they may deem expedient."

A New Republic correspondent, E. T. Baker, a staff member of the Baltimore Sun, has watched the new anti-subversion law through Maryland's General Assembly.

This, said the Maryland Commission on Subversive Activities which drafted the new anti-subversion law, "cannot be given *literal* effect any more than can our Declaration of Independence."

Since 1939, at least seven states have enacted sedition laws of one kind or another, most of them admittedly aimed at the Communist Party.* Thirteen have barred the party from the ballot, and two have required subversive organizations to register. Twenty-nine have required loyalty oaths or other assurance of innocence from teachers or other public employees. During the Red scare that followed the First World War, 26 states passed sedition, criminal-anarchism and criminal-syndicalism laws. Terrorism, rather than infiltration, was their object, but the principle was the same. These laws plus other laws against opposition to war (13 states), against possessing or displaying red flags or other seditious devices (33 states) and such isolated eccentricities as Nebraska's special statute requiring that all meetings be held in the English language, make a web of state legislation directed at subversion that is indeed a large and tangled one.

Maryland's new law, entitled "Sedition and Subversive Activities," takes this confused mass and reduces it to one general statute running to 4,500 words, 12 book-size pages. Eschewing the more extreme local variations, it draws principally on the federal Smith Act (under which the Communist Party leaders are being tried in New

*These and the following statistics are taken from the report of the Maryland Commission on Subversive Activities, January, 1949. As this is written, other states have similar laws in the works. In Texas, for example, the House of Representatives has voted unanimously to expel all Communists—students and teachers—from state-aided schools.

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York) and the President's loyalty program and adds one important innovation of its own. It neither excludes the Communist Party from the ballot, as other states have done, nor requires that the party register, as Congress would like it. Instead it proceeds by indirection: it proscribes the presumed activities of the Communists and their fronts and then directs the destruction of any organization engaging in them.

Without mentioning the Communists by name, it sets out to catch them coming and going. It defines a "subversive organization" as one which advocates the "alteration" of the constitutional form of government by revolution, force or violence and a "foreign subversive organization" as one which, while controlled either directly or indirectly by a foreign government, advocates the "alteration" of *the constitutional form of government by whatever means* and the substitution of a form of government dominated by a foreign power. Then, again without mentioning the Communists by name, it directs that any organization convicted of being either a subversive organization or a foreign subversive organization be dissolved and its property and assets seized by the state. The preamble to the law, moreover, suggests specifically that the Communists are guilty on both counts and the sedition sections themselves direct investigation of "Communism and any *other* or related subversive organizations." For this reason, some lawyers believe the law is, in effect, a bill of attainder and therefore unconstitutional.

The law also makes it a crime to:

1. Attempt to "alter" the constitutional form of government by revolution, force or violence. The words "or other unlawful means" were stricken from this section and from the definition of subversive organizations by one of the two amendments to the act.
2. Advocate or "teach" such acts.
3. Knowingly form, manage, contribute to the support of or belong to a US or foreign subversive organization.

Loyalty oaths are required of all candidates for elective office, and all public employees, including teachers, must undergo loyalty checks. If state-aided schools (Johns Hopkins University is one) want to continue to get state money, they must check the loyalty of their teachers, too.

The law's criminal penalties are severe. They range up to a $20,000 fine and 20 years' imprisonment, and anyone convicted of criminal violations is thereafter barred from voting or holding public office.* In fact, among the 150 related state and federal laws the Commission on Subversive Activities cites in its report, they are exceeded only by the penalties for espionage

State Laws Against Subversive Activities in Force, January 1, 1949

1. GENERAL SUBVERSION LAWS. To penalize the advocacy in any manner of the overthrow of the government of the United States, or that of any state, by force, violence, or other unlawful means.	*37 states:* Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
2. EXCLUSION FROM BALLOT. To outlaw political parties and candidates for public office advocating doctrines inimical or hostile to the American form of government, especially Communism.	*14 states:* Arkansas, California, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Texas, Wisconsin, Wyoming.
3. INCITEMENT TO VIOLENCE. To prohibit incitement of insurrection or treason, or attempt thereat by means of verbal or written utterance or other means.	*13 states:* Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, New Jersey, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia.
4. REGULATION OF EMPLOYEES. To penalize any state employee for membership in any party or organization advocating overthrow of the government, etc.	*16 states:* Arizona, Arkansas, California, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont.
5. LOYALTY OATHS. To require teachers to take oath of loyalty to defend state and federal Constitutions.	*20 states:* Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Montana, Nevada, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia.
6. "RED FLAG." To prohibit display of certain flags and other emblems as symbols of the advocacy or belief in revolution or radical activities antagonistic to the United States Government.	*33 states:* Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Washington, West Virginia.

*If, by contrast, Eugene Dennis and the other Communist leaders are convicted in New York, they will be liable for $10,000 fines, 10 years' imprisonment, or both, and become ineligible for federal employment for five years.

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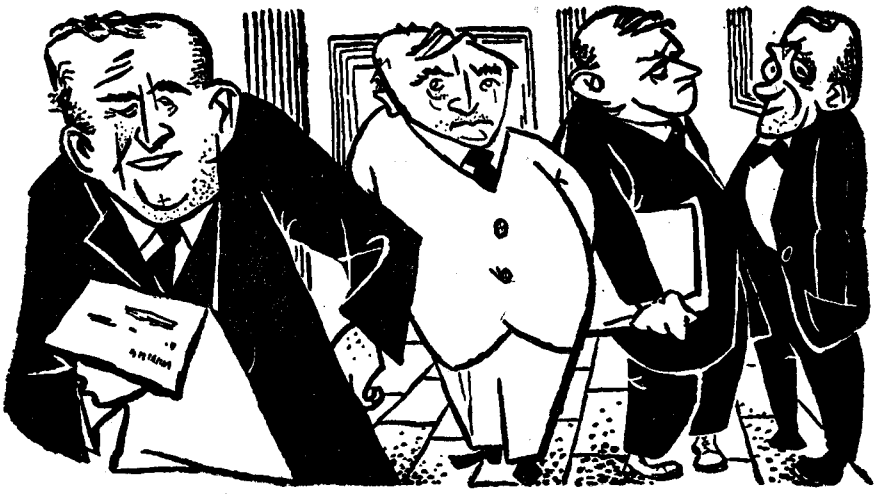
and treason, which range from a $10,000 fine to the death penalty.

Its sponsors, of course, insist that the new law invades no man's rights. The restrictions on free speech, they emphasize, are tempered by Mr. Justice Holmes's celebrated clear-and-present-danger test, which is written into the measure. Members of subversive organizations are allowed 90 days' grace in which to mend their ways and criminal prosecution must proceed along time-honored lines, with grand juries specifically forbidden to charge anyone with disloyalty without at least indicting him first. But law is only what man makes it, and language is a very personal thing. So Socialists wonder if the definition of a foreign subversive organization might not be broad enough to catch them as well as the Communists. Unions wonder what altering the constitutional form of government by force might mean. Teachers wonder about teaching Marx and Lenin, even Plato and Sir Thomas More. Public employees are to be discharged if there are "reasonable grounds" to believe them subversive; their guilt need not be proved. And there is to be a special assistant attorney general in charge of subversive activities who, the law plainly says, may, with the approval of the attorney general, make his records public to "effectuate" its purposes.

Given a scrupulous prosecutor, Maryland's non-Communist Left can live under the new law, broad as it is; what disturbs many liberals, and many conservatives, even more than the law itself, is the way it came into being.

Last April 22 Edward P. Morgan, once an aide to J. Edgar Hoover but now a professional prophet of doom, talked to the Kiwanis Club of Baltimore about Communism. One of his listeners was a Baltimore insurance broker and state senator, Wilmer C. Carter, who promptly conferred with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, organized a local committee of 50 business, civic and veterans' groups to combat subversion and then, at a special session of the legislature



DRAWINGS BY FRASCONI

in May—convened to vote additional public-welfare funds and a pay raise for state employees—introduced a resolution calling upon the Governor to appoint a commission to prepare legislation "to expose and expurgate subversive and other illegal activities." The preamble to the resolution, which declared that Communism presents a "clear and present danger" to the state of Maryland, was taken word for word from the Mundt-Nixon bill. The resolution was passed, other legislators recall, to keep Carter quiet, without committee hearings or floor debate. There was time for neither; the session lasted only two and a half days.

A month later, at the annual meeting of the Maryland Bar Association, a Baltimore lawyer, Frank B. Ober, complained that "free-speech fanatics" were preventing this country from adequately coping with Communism, which he called a treasonable conspiracy. The next week Governor Lane appointed him to head the Commission on Subversive Activities. The commission talked privately with federal and state officials but held no hearings; the facts, it said, had been found by the legislature and set forth in the preamble to Senator Carter's resolution. Then, in November, the voters approved an amendment to the state constitution barring from public office members of organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government by force or violence; the commission interpreted this as a mandate from the people.

In January the commission presented its recommendations to the legislature. The opposition was slow to mobilize; Senator Carter's committee of businessmen and veterans had been at work since spring, and only one public official, Baltimore City Councilman H. Warren Buckler Jr., opposed the measure.

Only two state officials were bold enough to suggest amendments. The committees for the most part discussed the bill behind closed doors, and one of them voted on it secretly. It passed the senate unanimously and the house 115 to 1. When one of its reporters questioned Senator Carter about it, the Washington *Post* recounted, he asked if the reporter were Jewish and demanded to see his credentials. "Maybe you're a Commy," he said.

There are, the Ober Commission estimates, 2,700 Communists in Maryland, or one for every 740 Democrats and Republicans. Reflecting on this, Gerald W. Johnson, once an editor of the Baltimore *Sun* but more recently a columnist for the liberal New York *Star*, wrote a letter to his old employer. "I venture to suggest," he said, "that there is in the present situation an element even more deplorable than the danger of enacting a foolish law. Recent events indicate that the Maryland Free State is losing its ability to laugh; and that would be worse than enactment of the biggest fool law ever heard of; for we can repeal a bad law, but to learn to laugh, once we have forgotten, is difficult."

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TITO ON A TIGHTROPE

While Russia tries to force him into the arms of the West, he fights to keep free and to fulfill Yugoslavia's five-year plan

by Osgood Caruthers

BELGRADE

ON JUNE 28, 1948, the world saw a strange phenomenon which should teach it a lesson about the flexibility of the Communist code.

On a flashing signal from the Bolshevik Party of Russia, the leaders of the other satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain suddenly began to hate Tito of Yugoslavia even worse than they hated the Western "warmongers and imperialists"—Tito, the man who had gone farthest in developing his country along the lines Russia wanted, the only one of the political leaders in the so-called "people's democracies" who stayed in his own country during the war to fight fascism, the most ruthless against the bourgeoisie, the one who, in emulating Russia, seemed to many observers to be making again most of the egregious mistakes committed by the Soviet Union in its earliest years.

Why was the split so suddenly revealed, showing the whole world how little solidarity there was among the exponents of "brotherhood and unity"?

Tito had forced the Bolsheviks into the open by refusing to appear before a Cominform tribunal which was obviously packed against him. Actually, "Titoism" had been conceived many months earlier, and may even have existed in embryo as far back as the partisan revolution. Tito himself said during the war that "Yugoslavia will be an independent country. We shall build socialism here according to the individual problems peculiar to us. We shall belong to no sphere of influence!"

Both the Western world and the Russians have miscalculated badly about Tito. The Western world felt sure that he had broken with Communism, which is very far from true and would never be said by anyone who knew the fanaticism of his Communist followers and the nature of the Yugoslav people in general. The Russians have also blundered. They believed—or said they believed—that Tito would be destroyed "by natural causes" because he had deviated from the Marxist-Leninist line. But his only real deviation has been his declaration of independence, with its menace to Russian supremacy. Yugoslavia is still Communist and becoming more so every day. It is still anti-Western in principle and will remain so even though it may be forced now to trade almost exclusively with the West.

The Tito affair had enormous repercussions in the satellite countries. In Poland it helped to cause the Gomulka incident. In Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary and Rumania, Yugoslav clubs, cultural societies and bookshops had to be padlocked as "a threat to law and order." Yet the Czechs cheered the Yugoslav gymnasts when they appeared in the Czech stadium and lined up to spell out "TITO."

In Albania Premier Enver Hoxha has given orders that members of pro-Tito bands are to be shot on sight and has forced them into the mountains. The Albanian population is grumbling because badly needed food from Yugoslavia has been cut off.

A Russian campaign attacking Yugoslavia is going full blast. Pro-Tito elements in other satellite countries are being purged. The pro-Russian leaders are obviously afraid of Tito's personal popularity in Eastern Europe, which at one time was high.

Certainly the letters between Russian and Yugoslav leaders preceding the break do not justify the serious consequences that followed. A Russian quotes Tito at second hand as believing Yugoslavia to be self-sufficient; this is denied. Another Yugoslav is charged with a slurring remark about the moral caliber of Russian officers as compared with the British. Two Yugoslav Communists, arrested by Tito, were apparently being built up by Moscow to replace him. Yugoslav officials are charged with withholding information from Russians; Tito complains that Russian officials in Yugoslavia have been a heavy financial burden; and so on.

The real crime of Tito and his group appears to be refusal to recognize Stalin's infallibility, and taking literally some fine Russian oratory about the "independence" of the satellite countries. In the back of the Russians' minds was the fear that Tito would create and head a Balkan federation which would grow so strong that it could no longer be directed completely from Moscow. This idea also existed in the Balkans themselves, and may have helped to confuse the Western world about the nature of Tito's revolt.

Another element of confusion has come because Tito did not follow the Russian pattern in solving the problem of agriculture in his country. He has not collectivized the farms and, comparatively speaking, he has treated the peasants with kid gloves. They represent 85 percent of the population; most of them are small landholders and must be handled with care. It is the shopkeepers and urban businessmen—less than 10 percent of the population—who have borne the full brunt of Tito's first steps toward Communism. Tito's intimate knowledge of the ins and outs of Yugoslav peasant politics has been a great asset to him and one the Russian theoreticians could not equal. He remembers vividly that the Yugoslavs have struggled for liberty and against oppression, almost without intermission, during a long and bloody history.

Despite his carefulness, the anger of the peasants is still a danger to Tito. Many of the prosperous ones continue

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to fight his movement. They do not want to sell their produce only to the state.

Yet the Russian criticism of Tito has missed the point. It has overlooked genuine errors, which Tito's regime in its new mood of self-criticism now admits. (A typical instance was the confiscation of nearly all the pigs, which was done without adequate preparation in the way of new pens, barns, etc., so that a large proportion died.) The Russian criticism merely attacks Tito, in orthodox language, for catering to the rich peasants—the kulaks. In fact, Tito has not done this. He has abolished all middlemen to whom the peasants might sell their produce. They must turn over a large percentage to the government at fixed, low prices; and if they wish to sell the balance in the free market, they must do all the work themselves.

While the system which Tito destroyed was ancient and rickety, he was not in a position to supplant it with one of his own. He has a serious shortage of trained personnel, and his transportation system of broken-down UNRRA trucks and appallingly overtaxed railroads is entirely inadequate to the country's needs.

The Tito regime has set up a cooperative agricultural movement. Poor, landless peasants have been brought in from the rocky soil of Bosnia and Montenegro and placed on better land expropriated from the Church and from the big landowners. Coöperative farms have been set up, accompanied by village coöperatives to buy and sell. In theory, the peasants can sell some of their produce on the free market, but Tito hopes they will be more attracted by bartering for industrial products, and that once such goods are readily available, they will come into the coöperatives of their own accord. Thus the action which the Russians criticize comes down to permitting the peasants to enter the Communist economy voluntarily instead of being forced in.

The conflict between Tito and the Russians concerns Yugoslavia's whole future. Russia, Tito has revealed, wanted Yugoslavia to remain agricultural, to drop its plans for industrialization and become the chief breadbasket for the satellite countries, leaving industrialization to Czechoslovakia and Poland. But Tito has a different dream. He wants to develop the rich, almost untouched natural resources and give Yugoslavia a mixed industrial-agricultural economy. His whole five-year plan is wrapped around that idea and he is willing to make great sacrifices to achieve it. His real crime, then, seems to be that he has been going too fast and perhaps in a direction not wholly acceptable to Moscow.

The Yugoslavs, of course, deny that there is any such thing as "Titoism." They say they have gone farther toward Communism and worked harder for it than the people of any other country except Russia. They remind you that the present leaders of every other European Communist country stayed in Moscow, under Stalin's wing, during the war. Only Tito was in Yugoslavia, organizing the revolution and liberating most of his country even before the Red Army came in.

Far from being nationalist, the Yugoslavs say that, wherever they could, they have followed the Communist line in regard to all countries. Certainly their support has been felt in Austria, Greece and Trieste. And certainly they were vigorous in attempting to bring about proper international ties among those countries which had "liberated themselves from the capitalist yoke." But their prime efforts have been for Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Communists say it was the Russian attack on them that caused "nationalism" to break out everywhere in the international socialist front. The party split up over the issue in Trieste, an action that seriously hampered its program in the Free Territory. Now, the Yugoslavs say, the Italian fraction is influenced by Italian nationalism—this was true even before the split, but it is a fact that is never mentioned in the Communist world.

In Bulgaria, once the split came, all the "Greater Bulgarian" chauvinism erupted on the question of Macedonia. The bitter feud over who should control this historic crossroads between the old and the new world has never died, in spite of the former protestations of "brotherhood and unity" between the Bulgars and the Yugoslavs.

And now we see, in this phase of the quarrel, nationalism growing within nationalism—with the Yugoslavs claiming that the portion of Macedonia they govern is really free and is at last (after centuries) being allowed to develop its own culture and language; the Bulgars deploring the eager attempts of the Yugoslavs, under a cultural treaty, to spread "Titoism" and the old "Pan-Serbianism" among the Macedonians they govern; and the whole Russian-led Cominform trying to fan the Macedonians of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece into revolt against Tito for a "greater Macedonia" with complete autonomy. This effort is strong among the Bulgarians, with the approval of Premier Georgi Dimitrov, and among the Greeks, with the approval of the "temporary Free Greek Government." Under Tito's rigid and effective control it is less successful on the Yugoslav side. There is little likelihood it will succeed there without major outside help—which would be a dangerous undertaking.

The great dream of a Balkan federation was once shared by Tito and Dimitrov. (Dimitrov dropped the idea on orders from *Pravda,* but Tito never did.) Tito would have headed the federation, of which an important part was a scheme to include all of Macedonia in the Yugoslav federation of republics. Although Dimitrov agreed to this idea at first, it now seems clear that both the Bulgarians and the Greek Communists under Markos were alarmed by the prospect.

Yugoslavia's Communists are in a badly confused position—but they are not confused about the line they are taking. Simultaneously they defy the Soviet Union and assert their loyalty to the Communist fatherland. They continue to back Russia's foreign policy, but they are far from certain that the Russians will do the same for them. What, for instance, will Russia do

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about the burning issue of Trieste? The Yugoslavs have sworn not to rest until it is solved on their terms. Yet there are Communists in Trieste who have repudiated the Yugoslavs and are loyal to Moscow. And what will Russia do about Yugoslav demands on Carinthia? Some of the Austrian Communists oppose the Yugoslav demands and are seeking support from the Russians.

A disquieting hint of Russia's attitude on Trieste may be found in the correspondence with Tito which preceded the break, in which Stalin bitterly remarked that Tito apparently expected Russia to go to war with America and Britain in 1945 in order to get Trieste for the Yugoslavs. And there may be another equally ominous hint about Carinthia in the newly expressed desire of the USSR at last to conclude an Austrian peace treaty.

It is necessary, though difficult, to analyze the Yugoslav situation as part of Russia's worldwide policy. What made the USSR decide to split the international socialist front wide open and risk the loss of one of its most important bridgeheads to the Western world? Did it really believe a mere word from the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party would check a man like Tito and a party like the Yugoslav Communists? It does not seem likely. Yet today Russia cannot retreat without a tremendous loss of prestige, based partly on the necessity of admitting it can make mistakes. Tito has privately expressed a belief that Russia will acknowledge its error and that the breach will be healed; but he cannot take too much stock in this unrealistic hope.

Certainly, the Yugoslavs will not recant. True, they have corrected many of the "errors" charged against them by the Bolsheviks. They have made public the membership of their Central Committee and their Politburo. They have started a program of severe Communist self-criticism. But they have not got rid of Tito and his aides, such as Rankovich, Kardelj and Djilas, which would be more important to the Russians than recanting. The Yugoslav Communists well know that if they should show weakness now, their leaders would instantly be thrown out and succeeded by a new and more obedient regime.

Faced with this impasse, what will the Russians do next? (It is surely their move.) They want and need Yugoslavia in their European pattern. They need its rich stores of raw materials and its sturdy, independent people. They don't want Tito; but how can they get rid of him? Assassination is out of the question. Too many people would have to be killed, and in any case it would be far better to settle the question by "democratic" means. Appeals to the Yugoslav Communists, from Rumania and Hungary, to rise against Tito have not worked. The Yugoslavs remember the days when the Nazi quisling leaders of those countries tried to annihilate the Serbs.

Now Russia is trying a new tactic—clever, extremely dangerous, and one that has Tito badly worried. Indeed, he is so worried that he ignores the abuse showered upon him and avoids any final break with the East. This tactic is an economic, political and even cultural blockade. Already it is nearly complete. Yugoslavia is receiving nothing from Russia and discouragingly little from the other countries of the Eastern bloc. (As a symbol, the Yugoslav delegates are isolated from the other Communist delegations in the United Nations.)

Do the Russians really think they can starve Tito into submission, or the Yugoslav people into revolt? Here in Belgrade no one believes this is the case. Nevertheless, the Eastern all-out blockade against Tito has thus far caused more serious harm than has the Russian demand for a Yugoslav uprising.

It was the Russians who first accused Tito of turning to the camp of the "Western imperialists." This charge was made at a time when it was fantastically untrue, when Tito was more hostile to the West than was any other Eastern European leader. It was an attempt to drive a wedge between Tito and his own Yugoslav Communists, the theory being that, while they are emotionally attracted to Tito, they are so steeped in Marx and Lenin that they would be shocked by the idea of Tito's having anything to do with the capitalists.

In short, the Russians *want* Tito to go to the Western camp and thus make himself a pariah in the eyes of the Yugoslav Communists. They impose economic sanctions in order to drive him to the West. They rejoice whenever he finds it necessary to make even the most insignificant approach to a Western power.

But Tito and his group are not likely to walk into this trap. They point out that all other Eastern countries, including Russia itself, have negotiated large and important trade agreements with the West. Some of these countries have asked for loans from America or from the World Bank, which is largely supported by America. Some of them have made deals to get back the gold of their former governments, which was frozen in the US during the war.

To realize even part of his ambitious five-year plan, Tito knows that Yugoslavia will have to deal with the West—but without any political strings attached. He must, of course, move slowly and carefully in order not to alienate his fanatical Communist adherents. It is hard to see how he could afford to accept Marshall Plan aid even if he wanted to do so.

Everything depends, finally, on the progress Yugoslavia makes toward its five-year program for industrialization. The Yugoslav Communists admire Tito. They are solidified in their support by their feeling that they have been slandered and insulted by the Cominform. They believe their five-year plan will succeed. Should the industrialization program fail, or should Tito go under, Yugoslavia would be back in the Russian camp and the Yugoslav defiance would become only an interesting historical footnote. If Tito succeeds, the solidarity of the Communist world will have been broken and the consequences will be far-reaching indeed.

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LEFT OF CENTER

FRESHMAN Representative Andrew Jacobs (D, Ind.) delighted the labor elements recently by his skillful and breezy appearance before the House Rules Committee in his championing of Taft-Hartley repeal. He may be greeted by mixed reactions, however, should he propose legislation, as it is believed he will, regulating internal union affairs. . . . The city of Tacoma has ordered purchase of the property of the privately owned Puget Sound Power and Light Company. This is a major step forward in American public power development. . . . The American Unitarian Association has decided to publish Paul Blanshard's book on Catholicism, *American Freedom and Catholic Power.*

The Social Democratic *New Leader*, in an editorial on "Socialist Confusion," urges European Socialists to drop their middle-of-the-road attitude in regard to America and Russia: "The United States is not a capitalist country in the sense in which Russia is a Communist one. It is a changing democratic country. While in the main its economy is at present operated upon what we call the free enterprise system, this way of doing things is in a state of rapid evolution." . . . In similar vein the *Socialist Call*, commenting on Nenni's refusal to come to the United States on the ground that American Socialists are too close to Social Democrats, says that "all you have to do is break your unholy united front with the Communists, quit acting as their stooge, carry out an independent democratic Socialist policy, and you will find that we can easily arrive at an 'understanding'."

A liberal-minded FM network is now being considered composed of stations like the Washington, D.C., WCFM, David Dubinsky's ILGWU FM stations, Walter Reuther's UAW FM stations, etc. . . . The Federal Loyalty Board found recently that a Trotskyist sympathizer is entitled to hold his job. The Trotskyists retort that this finding of the Board should cause the Attorney General to erase the organization's name from the subversive list. . . . Two rail unions have found a very simple way to solve jurisdictional disputes—they plan to merge.

It's really an ill wind that doesn't blow some good. It was the Taft-Hartley Act that catapulted organized labor into politics and thus helped to elect Truman President of the United States and to defeat more than 100 conservative members of the House; likewise the Dixie-GOP use of the filibuster to preserve the filibuster has goaded organized labor into a post-election campaign. The relaxed mood of labor and liberals that followed the election has been swept aside by a storm of anger and frustration.

On March 1, the Trade Union Council of the Liberal Party sounded off in New York City on the need for "mass pressure" to realize the Fair Deal program. On March 21 the *CIO News* converted its front page into a huge letter beginning: "Dear Mr. Congressman: I hope that you remember what happened last Nov. 2. I do——"

On March 30-31 the AFL's Labor's League for Political Education called an unprecedented Washington conference of 250 key leaders from every state in the union to make personal contact with the men on the Hill. "The delegates unanimously agreed," says the *League Reporter*, "that the only language the politician understands is votes in the ballot box on election day." This top-level gathering agreed to launch a weekly political newspaper, beginning this May, to keep the folks back home well informed. "A year around plan to assist local leagues in the use of local radio time was outlined. The National League will transcribe radio programs and interviews featuring pro-labor Congressmen and AFL leaders to be sent direct to the home districts and states for rebroadcast over local stations."

The AFL tells President Truman to take a lesson from Governor Dewey by invoking party discipline:

> Two-thirds of the Democratic members of the House of Representatives can bind every Democrat to vote for or against a bill. Any member not abiding by the caucus decision can lose his party patronage and his seniority on committees. In other words, the Chairman of the Veterans Committee could be removed from that position if he violated the will of a party caucus.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is warming up for the 1950 campaign. Speaking in Pittsburgh, A. F. Whitney announced that "labor should map plans now to 'retire without compensation' in 1950 Congressional 'renegades to the people's cause' who are blocking enactment of President Truman's Fair Deal program."

Top directives from AFL, CIO and independent unions are finding loud reiteration in the publications of the national and local organizations. Here is a random selection. The Fort Smith *Union News* (Ark.) advises its readers: "Write your Congressman and Senator urging that they support these bills in the interest of labor. It is of particular importance that you do this immediately." In an editorial entitled "It's Your Government," the Dubuque *Leader* asks, "Are you a full-fledged citizen? Did you ever write to your Congressman? It's better than wishing or cussing." In the March issue of the *Bakers' and Confectioners' Journal* an editorial, "The Chips Are Down," says, "Labor went all out last fall and showed that it had real strength again. Let's get going! The chips are down."

A *Kenosha Labor* editorial warned: "Labor must by letters, wires, committees and all the other means at its disposal keep the pressure upon its representatives in Congress. It should keep a box score of its representatives so that in 1950 this report card will tell whether to launch a campaign against, or reëlect, its would-be representatives."

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

"BEJEWELED, THE GREAT SUN"

by Robert Fitzgerald

IF WE WERE to work out a coherent view of modern poetry, if it were only to recognize and put a proper value on our various appetites and pleasures, we would have to keep the works of William Empson and William Carlos Williams simultaneously in mind. Each is a true and brilliant poet, to be looked to for delight and revelation, but not much has been said about either in terms applicable to the other; they represent the extremes of formal difference in contemporary verse. It is also true that each is peculiarly native to his own English-speaking region and has a style inimitable by the other; obviously, no Englishman has ever got the hang of Williams' kind of writing and, less obviously, no American writes as Empson does. We do more than differentiate—we classify—when we think of the two men.

One is a Yorkshireman educated in the twenties at Winchester and Magdalene College, Cambridge, a more than donnish wit, at home in mathematical and scientific abstractions, passionate in his study of the treasurable stuff of English poetry, a teacher and wanderer to the East, where he lives in China's Holy City. The other is a Yankee with an infusion of Latinity, for thirty years a practising physician in a small American city, very much on his own and on the loose from poetic tradition, no student, no teacher, but as close to concrete life—and as immaculately unstuck by it—as quicksilver in your palm. No photography could do his kind of job with the American street scene:

> —and a semicircle of dirt colored men
> about a fire bursting from an old ash can . . .
> —and the worn,
> blue car rails (like the sky!)
> gleaming among the cobbles!

The good thing about the intelligent anti-intellectual is that he scents with appropriate alarm the dangers of committing himself to abstract attitudes that a later or rougher or rounder experience would show up; he distrusts not only "those large words that make people unhappy" but all the apparatus of ideas that can get in between us and the things that we do or witness, all stereotypes and, in the extreme case, all stereotypes-to-be. For the poet Williams this apparently meant consigning to the ash-can even such neutral instruments as the iambic line, which may be potentially either dead or alive for others but for him must have carried an uncontrollable threat of blight and blather. For more than three decades, then, Williams has been using his acute and cleanly art to render the visible, the sensuous particulars of the world in motion and the equally unpredictable, odd responses that usually go unspoken in the heart or in the throat. He has done so in poems like strings of beads or notations for plain chant, the notes well separated, slight in themselves, but with startling emotive effects as they tumble out, leap up, or coil and pool together. The *Selected Poems* that Randall Jarrell has edited (New Directions; $1.50) is an excellent introduction to and anthology of Williams.

It would seem at first that Empson's *Collected Poems* (Harcourt, Brace; $2.50) is a body of work as dissimilar from Williams' as any could possibly be, but it is important to notice that the two poets can be united under one large heading; if they are at extremes, what makes them so is the refusal in each case to adopt the formulae that come most easily to the mind, with the most specious comfort or the most fashionable portentousness. Empson's poems are famously difficult. A few of them resemble quartzlike fusions that will resist analysis almost as long as they will decomposition. All there is to say on this point is that every one of them means more the more it is studied, and that the study is always worth making. The unprepared reader might not believe it, but patience—and Empson's Notes —will bring profound sense out of the magnificent energy and enigma of such a passage as this:

> Fall to them, Lucifer, Sun's Son. Splash high
> Jezebel. Throw her down. They feast, I flee
> Her poised tired head and eye
> Whose skull pike-high mirrors and waits for me.

In sequence, these poems, the fruit of more than twenty years' work, offer a sustained and dazzling display of intelligence avoiding false commitments and premature plumpings, in the knowledge that

> the spry arts
> Can keep a steady hold on the controls
> By seeming to evade.

In Empson's case the evasion is indeed only a seeming, and nobody has a steadier hold on the controls. The notion that such a poetry cannot be a "poetry of affirmation" is misguided, since what the poetry would affirm is the exact and elusive truth of the matters with which it is concerned, and these are often serious:

> The claim is that no final judge can state
> The truth between you; there is no such man.
> This leads to anarchy; we must deliberate.
>
> We could once carry anarchy, when we ran
> Christ and the magnificent milord
> As rival pets; the thing is, if we still can
> Lacking either . . .

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Empson has lived, and knows he has, in a physical world that has yielded to methodical thought, at last, only the principles of relativity and indeterminacy, and in a moral world equally at sea. His intelligence, being sane and large, has drawn away from that overwhelming dither toward a recognition of absolutes, but with honest hesitation, holding carefully to small dignities:

> He who tries
> Talk must always plot and then sustain,
> Talk to himself until the star replies,
>
> But in despair that it could speak again
> Assume what answers any wits have found
> In evening dress on rafts upon the main,
> Not therefore uneventful or soon drowned.

The wrung-out, colloquial dryness of this diction has its own firm music, capable of being heightened, in more elaborate poems, to a grand polyphony. (He has, for example, taken over and extended E. E. Cummings' structural stunt of writing one poem in parenthesis inside another.) What is always humming underneath is the verse tradition itself, nowhere so obtrusive that you can sense, in particular, Hardy or Donne or Rochester or Dryden, but everywhere deepening the effect—a poetic language of many minds renewed in a single one.

This tradition of metrical form is precisely what Williams has done without, but it does not follow that his work has no tradition behind it; it has the rich tradition of prose. He is not a verse writer and knows little about versification, but he has an ear for prose rhythms more delicate and various than most of his contemporaries, and the free verse he has made is prose transformed by arrangement. For a long time nobody who admired Williams' work cared to say this for fear of being misunderstood; it should be understood that Williams is a poet. Shaking the prose notes out and down the page, placing words and phrases in space, the writer calls attention to them one by one and is assisted by this in evoking, likewise one by one, the details of his notation. He can speed up or slow down the movement according to how much white space he offers to the eye or breath to the reading voice. When he prints his piece in lines and stanzas, with roughly the same number of beats to a line, he counterpoints his prose with the rhythm suggested by verse form.

Empson "conceptualizes," as the psychologists say, works in metaphor, concentrates allusion to make diamonds of verse "until the star replies." He is a metaphysical poet. Williams is a physical poet; he "tries talk," but mainly leaves the talking to the things he presents. When he does talk, he often does so under his breath, interruptedly, like a man pausing to gaze, whistling or exclaiming, before he compresses his lips again and makes the incision or moves on. If you trouble to listen carefully you will from time to time hear great emotion in the doctor's little, broken-off reflections, as here in a country churchyard:

> . . . a white stone,
> you have seen it: *Mathilda Maria Fox*—and near the ground's lip,
> all but undecipherable, *Aet Suae Anno* 9—still there, the grass
> dripping of last night's rain—and welcome! The thin air, the near,
> clear brook water!—and could not, and died, unable; to escape
> what the air and the wet grass—
> through which, tomorrow, bejeweled, the great sun will rise . . .

The life of such writing is in the realities brought together (the weakness of a dying child, the freshness of morning) by sudden transitions, quickening the mind that will remain relatively asleep through commonplace prose. If you take a simple passage in Empson you may see much the same thing happening, only here in a metaphor that makes two disparate scenes interpenetrate and by so doing enlarges the world. The poem is called "The Beautiful Train" (a Japanese one, in Manchuria, in 1937); Argentina is the Spanish dancer and "call" means a curtain call, the applause set in motion by her impact:

> Argentina in one swing of the bell skirt,
> Without visible steps, shivering in her power,
> Could shunt a call passing from wing to wing . . .
>
> So firm, so burdened, on such light gay feet.

Robert Fitzgerald, author of Poems and A Wreath for the Sea, is collaborating with Dudley Fitts on a translation of Oedipus Rex, to be published in the fall.

FAITH AND WORKS

TRIAL AND ERROR: The Autobiography of Chaim Weizmann (Harper and Brothers; $5).

TRIAL AND ERROR records the achievement, unique in history, of the political resurrection of a civilization, Israel, in the autobiography of the great chemist-statesman who made it happen now. If Moses heard a Voice through a burning bush, Dr. Chaim Weizmann heard it through a Bunsen burner. The messages, three thousand years apart, were similar, but Dr. Weizmann had the advantage of modern speed-up. It took half a millennium to establish the ancient state; only half a century for the modern one.

The book is both modern and authentically Hebrew. It covers many world capitals and includes most of the great political and scientific figures of our times. The plot is specific and still makes tomorrow's headlines, but the treatment is timeless, universal and moral. It evokes no Greek catharsis, the emotions of pity and terror being austerely excluded, although the item of events includes the most classically horrendous murders of all time. But one emerges from the reading sustained and revitalized by its powerful affirmation of faith in man, society, science and moral law.

It is no accident that the man who personifies the Zionist idea is a scientist as well as Zionist. Nor is it fortuitous that the authority of the United Nations had to be invoked before the

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idea could become reality. It rests on a global authority in which power and morality are involved in balance.

Weizmann combined science and Zionism into an integrated idea, just as he combined his personal and public life into an integrated unit. This integration is the outstanding and rare quality of the man and the book. Contemporary biography is characterized by the split personality, torn by struggle between opposing forces of modern society. This is the split age—split world, split atom, split man. Even Nehru of India wrote of himself as a stranger and an alien abroad, and an exile at home.

Weizmann felt alien nowhere on earth, and profoundly at home in the Homeland. He never forgot where he came from, and he never forgot where he was going. Nor why. He saw no conflict that could not be resolved by man—in time and space, having faith, using science, feeling friendship and acting morally. All this was part of the idea of "Jewishness" that he defines and redefines in terms of the action taking place. In the great Hebraic tradition, he evaluates history on the basis of its ethical content and intent.

Science and Zionism are point and counterpoint in the great fugue of his experience:

> They have been interwoven in an organic fashion from my earliest years . . . not a personal phenomenon, but a reflection of an objective historic condition. . . . Jewishness is an organic part of my being. . . . We shall have to learn the hard way, by experience, by trial and error . . . the hard lesson of the organic growth of Zionism, not the fallacy of the short cut, nor the immediate solution or nothing at all. . . . There is no immediate solution of great historic problems. There is only movement in the direction of solution.

He was aware of history in both its millennial and momentary aspects, both intuitively and rationally. What he wrote of his great predecessor, Herzl: "He had daring, clarity, energy, historic personality, powerful in the belief that he had been called by destiny to this work . . ." was equally true of himself. He had the capacity to take responsibility, to learn from experience, to dream with realism, to follow through without deviation, and to mature a step ahead of destiny.

Of Herzl's *The Jewish State*, published in 1896, the first modern reformulation of the ancient idea, he says "it contained not a single new idea for us," although to many American Jews, it was still revolutionary half a century later. But he realized the primary importance in Herzl's founding of the Zionist Congress in 1897, as an organizational instrument which in 1904 (in the rejected Uganda offer) first gained recognition for Jews as a political entity in the modern world. From its tiny, sound political root developed the larger bodies which Weizmann successively headed as they emerged, becoming president of the World Zionist Organization in 1920, of the Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1929, and ultimately, of Israel in 1948.

If the pace was swift, the pressure and price were staggering. It took the czarist pogrom of 1903 (45 killed, hundreds homeless) and World War I to bring about the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the League of Nations Mandate, 1922. And then it took the Nazi mass murders (six millions killed—one-third of all Jews—other millions homeless) to lead to the UN's partition plan of November, 1947, and the birth of the state of Israel in May, 1948—in a literal baptism of fire.

Weizmann's British relationships were complex, as are all dealings with the British. Like Gandhi and Nehru, he idealized them. Like many Americans, he was susceptible to and fascinated by the infinite grace of their generosity, when their own interests were not involved, and he succumbed to their fabulous charm even when he knew it was deliberately diffused to gain a British end. Time after time they double-crossed him, breaking the spirit if not the letter of their too far-flung pledges. Time after time, he forgave them, and tried to recall them to honor. If his attempts failed, the failure was British, but the responsibility remained his, and he knew it.

In 1937, he wrote to a British official and friend:

> I have defended the British Administration before my own people against my own better judgment and to my own detriment . . . because coöperation with Britain was the cornerstone of our policy . . . but it remained unilateral . . . unrequited love. . . . This is the foundation of our claim. . . . I leave it to history to decide whether it is excessive. . . . You ask me for a measure of trust, but how can I trust your system?

In supporting Britain during both world wars, Weizmann points out that Zionists were not supporting British imperialism, but rather the world democratic cause which Britain was then upholding and in which the US and its allies were all involved.

To General Allenby, he said, "You conquered Palestine, but only we can make good your victory . . . in the lives of men and nations."

Weizmann's associations with the Arabs were colored, slanted and distorted by the relations of both with the British. But it should be set down for the record that, next to the Zionist idea itself, he believed in the primacy of Arab-Jewish friendship, and that he acted on this belief.

The most extraordinary section of the book is the account of his journey for his first meeting with Emir Feisal (elder brother of King Abdullah of Transjordan), then spokesman of the Arab peoples.

In June, 1918 (seven months after the Balfour Declaration, four years before the Mandate), he set out for Amman from Jerusalem—today, an hour's plane ride; then, during World War I, via Akaba, Wady Araby, Wady Musa, from hills to desert to sea to hills again, a matter of ten hard days of travel by car, boat, camel and foot. En route, Weizmann's British liaison officer came down with dysentery, and he arrived in Amman alone.

> There came out to meet us Arab officers on camels, bearing gifts of water and fruit, with greetings from the Emir Feisal bidding us welcome to his camp. . . . It was a brilliant moonlight night—Palestinian moonlight—and I looked down from Moab on the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea and the Judean hills be-

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yond. I may have been a little lightheaded from the sudden change of climate, but as I stood there I suddenly had the feeling that three thousand years had vanished, had become as nothing. Here I was, on the identical ground, on the identical errand of my ancestors in the dawn of my people's history, when they came to negotiate with the ruler of the country for a right of way, that they might return to their home. . . .

Ironically, Weizmann continues, "Dream or vision, I was recalled to present day realities by the gruff voice of a British sentry, 'Sorry, sir, I'm afraid you're out of bounds'."

The pilgrimage to Amman was physically and spiritually the hardest journey Weizmann ever made, and future generations may rank it as his highest mission. Present and helpful at the meeting was Lawrence of Arabia, friend of Arab and Jew, like his cousin, Orde Charles Wingate of Judea, later on.

Its important outcome was the Feisal-Weizmann agreement, January 3, 1919. This basic document, over and above the Balfour paragraph, the League Mandate, or even the UN plan, is the real charter of Arab-Jewish conciliation and peace in the Near East. It affirms the kinship between Arabs and Jews, voices Arab welcome to Zionist return, designates mutual coöperation for Arab economic development and Jewish resettlement, refers to the Arab state and Zionist Palestine as two separate political entities, calls for exchange of duly accredited representatives and determination of definite boundaries between the two states. (*Trial and Error* gives only three clauses; future editions would eliminate popular misconceptions by reprinting the text in full.)

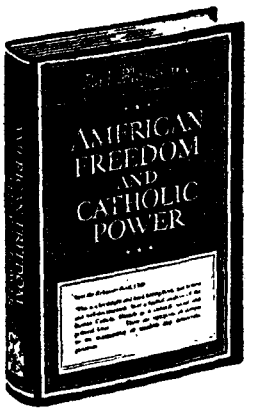
Thirty years later, the boundaries had not yet been determined. . . . Britain feared, with reason, that Arab-Jewish coöperation would lessen British over-all control. Instead, confusion, turmoil and riots resulted from the four unclean White Papers of 1922, 1930, 1937 and 1939. Like Nehru, Weizmann writes repeatedly of being "amazed, astounded, pained . . ." at British duplicity (forms of understatement both men acquired at British universities); then, frustrated in his deep desire for Arab peace, he eventually accepted partition "as the only way out of the impasse in our relations with our neighbors," much as Nehru had accepted Pakistan.

The militarization of Israel was not contemplated by the Founding Fathers of Zion. Weizmann stood firm for Havlagah, the Hebrew principle of self-restraint. Even when Wingate, who loved Judea, told him that the British Government would never do anything unless one forced it, Weizmann stood firm against offensive military action: "I have never believed that the Messiah would come to the sound of high explosives."

To Weizmann, the term Jewishness covers a culture including nationality, religion, ethics, standards of behavior, a moral way of life from cradle to UN. To him, the Jewish way is based not on power or possessions, but on an aristocratic quality of mind and spirit. It could be bounded by a nutshell—or a ghetto—or a too-partitioned state—and count itself king of infinite space, because it had good dreams and expressed itself in a good life. "The lifeblood of a stable society is justice. . . . We shall stand firm by an ancient principle of the Torah: 'One Law and One Manner shall be for you and for all who live with you. . . .'"

When the Nazis burned the synagogues in 1939, and everybody looked the other way, Weizmann said to Anthony Eden, "The flames from the synagogues may easily spread to English cathedrals. . . . If not rebuked, it means the beginning of anarchy and destruction of the basis of civilization. . . . The powers which stand looking on without taking any measures to prevent the crime will one day be visited by severe punishment." The flames did spread, to Coventry, through Europe, to Stalingrad, even to Calcutta and Kashmir, for Gandhi and Nehru had also averted their virtuous eyes.

When Halifax unwisely tried to sell him the immoral logic of expediency, he replied, "In this case, as in all



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BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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others, a deviation from the fundamental principle is not only a denial of ethics; it is self-defeating. . . ."

Jews, alone of all peoples, it seems to me, have developed an awareness of the cause-and-effect relationship between ethics and history. Many peoples are still unaware of it, or try to ignore it. Others, notably the British, have fostered the doomed delusion that they alone are above the law, and may even manipulate it to their own advantage. Any deviation is self-defeating.

By trial and error, by experience, the hard way, Jews have learned many lessons from the non-Jewish world. But that vast world has yet to learn the lesson of small Israel, whose great leader, statesman, scientist and prophet —learned, witty and good—is one of the most maturely civilized human beings of our time. What is this Jewishness that, without precedent in Toynbee or Hoyle, has resurrected itself? The answers are best sought in Jewish sources. *Trial and Error* is a permanently great source.

FRANCES GUNTHER

Frances Gunther spent many years in Europe and the Middle East, and is the author of Revolution in India.

WORTH REPRINTING

DOSTOEVSKY, by André Gide (New Directions; $2.50).

A FRANK ENTHUSIAST will often give the best account of a controversial subject. For he has neither the prejudice nor the purpose of an apologist or an adversary, and the impulse simply to spread the good word may result, given the talent, in lucid exposition. Dostoevsky, as no other great novelist, provokes controversy because his work arouses such extremes of devotion and distaste. To André Gide, Dostoevsky is "the greatest of all novelists," and because his sympathy for the man equals his appreciation of the artist, his work, now reissued, is, I think, the best on the subject.

"Dostoevsky," says Gide, "is not, strictly speaking, a thinker; he is a novelist." Which is perfectly true, but a novelist cannot avoid thinking. Nor is it his creative genius that has provoked the kind and pitch of sentiment mentioned above. As a matter of fact, it is as "psychologist, sociologist, moralist," as well as novelist, that Gide writes of him, because it is worthless, if not impossible, to consider his fiction apart from "the teaching that can be found in his books."

"Dostoevsky's characters group and arrange themselves always on one plane only, that of humility and pride." It is as a moralist expressing his values and as a psychologist establishing laws of behavior that the artist constructs his drama on such a balance of antithesis. Gide, examining them both, remarks a particular distortion of the virtue which is of first importance. For the characters in these novels, "humility opens the gates of Heaven; humiliation the gates of Hell." It is the latter, indeed, which is most fruitful of consequences for the drama. "There is not, I believe, one single deformation or deviation of character . . . but which has its beginning in some humiliation." And from innumerable persuasive references to the particular instance, "Here is one of the laws we can establish: the man who has suffered humiliation seeks to inflict humilation in his turn."

Humility, on the other hand, has its origin and consequence in Christian (or what Dostoevsky interprets as Christian) love. "Interprets" because it is this concept of love which is most crucial to Dostoevsky's "teaching," and most antipathetic to minds with a far different concept of the term. Gide defines Dostoevsky's concept by its opposite when he says that for the Russian "the antithesis of love is less hate than the steady activity of the mind." Humility, we begin to see, covers a multitude of implications, and it is of these that the unconverted reader begins to be suspicious. They are implications, however, which Gide is content to accept. He mentions two factors "which in Dostoevsky's work practically do not exist: first, the intellect; second, the will." Do not exist, that is to say, as powers for good, for "not only do I maintain that the will of Dostoevsky's characters is active solely for evil, but that, when urged and guided towards good, the virtue to which they attain is rotten with pride and leads to destruction. Dostoevsky's heroes inherit the Kingdom of God only by the denial of mind and will and the surrender of personality."

Reference was made to Dostoevsky's *interpretation* of Christian love. More extensively, his concept of Christianity itself could be described as an interpretation of a single Gospel text: "For whosoever will save his life shall lose it: and whosoever will lose his life for my sake, the same shall find it." That text has always been central to the history of Christian asceticism, but Dostoevsky's interpretation is not in that tradition. As Gide says, "Dostoevsky's Christianity has closer affinities with Asia than with Rome"—with the traditions of Latin culture, he means; with the West. Christianity, in fact, is something of a courtesy term for what, as Gide claims, "leads us . . . if not to anarchy, to a sort of Buddhism, or at least quietism."

A sensitivity to theological refinements is not characteristic of our time, yet I think it is precisely those enumerated beliefs ("which to us Westerners seem perchance more than strange") that antagonize many readers of Dostoevsky's novels, particularly when those beliefs are present not merely implicitly but as "the teaching that can be found in his b o o k s." Dostoevsky's evangelical ideals, moreover, are a curious mixture of Christianity and nationalism, or Slavism. It's a short step here from personal salvation to visions of "a nation awaiting her mission" as a "future civilizing force and of Europe's resurrection at our hands." I am not referring here to Russia's subsequent history, nor to Gide's dubious claim that "in *The Possessed* we find all the seeds of Bolshevism." We have no lack of other precedents and better reasons for distrusting belief in any nation as "fit to lead the common interests of entire humanity."

JOHN FARRELLY

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Crime and Punishment

The Franchise Affair, by Josephine Tey (Macmillan; $3). Betty Kane, a carefully brought-up, baby-faced girl of fifteen, who has been missing for a month, finally returns to her home in the Midlands with a hair-raising tale of kidnaping and brutal abuse. She accuses two English ladies—Mrs. Sharpe and her daughter Marion, who live in an isolated old Regency mansion, "The Franchise"—of being her jailers and torturers. Scotland Yard enters the case and the Sharpes are brought to trial. Their lawyer, who believes that Betty is not only a barefaced liar but a tramp to boot, realizes that to clear his clients he must break down the girl's circumstantial story. The plot's striking parallel with the celebrated and never solved mystery of Elizabeth Canning (1753) is enhanced by excellent atmosphere, pleasant writing and adroit characterization.

Murder Miscellany. Some recent better-than-average items: *Place for a Poisoner,* by E. C. R. Lorac (Crime Club; $2.25); *Innocent Bystander,* by Craig Rice (Simon and Schuster; $2); *Staircase 4,* by Helen Reilly (Random House; $2.50); *A Corpse in Diplomacy,* by Miriam Borgenicht (Mill-Morrow; $2.50); *The Leaden Bubble,* by H. C. Branson (Simon and Schuster; $2); and *The Darker the Night,* by Herbert Brean (Morrow; $2.50).

E. H.

THEATRE: Good Kissing

"SOUTH PACIFIC," by Rodgers, Hammerstein and Logan, is a good musical. Others call it great. They mean what I do when I call it good. On Broadway, to say that something is good is practically an insult.

As a score and a book, "South Pacific" is highly efficient. Rodgers' tunes are craftsmanlike and pleasant. He knows how to make a little go a long way. Hammerstein's lyrics and his book (in collaboration with Logan) are simple, easy, engaging, not startlingly original but honorably liberal and decent throughout. Mielziner's sets are clean, attractive, gratifyingly without fuss. The real triumph of the show, aside from its unerring sense of trim unity, is the cast. I have nothing but praise for the people who play "South Pacific" and the manner in which Logan, as director, has handled them.

To begin with, there is Mary Martin. She is the epitome of the show's virtues. "I am as normal as blueberry pie," she sings in one of the show's cheerful numbers. When she tells us with radiant good nature, "I'm in love, I'm in love, I'm in love with a wonderful guy," one doesn't murmur "Who cares?" but, "Congratulations, congratulations to you both."

Mary Martin is our ideal, our dream, our faith. She is fresh, lively, humorous, useful and very, very good company. She is delightfully feminine and just a little hoydenish, so that we can enjoy her sex without being oppressed by it. When we take her out, we shall be the envy of all the other fellows, without having to worry. In addition to her shining bright personality, Mary Martin is a grand performer. Entirely without cheapness, stridency, stickiness, she is effortlessly deft. She sings, dances, flirts and acts with a bouncing naturalness that is the happy marriage of hard work and talent.

The quality of healthy Americanism, a buoyant youthfulness still unspoiled by taint of trade, carries through the production. Juanita Hall, who plays a Tonkinese mamma, is as sound and sweet in her delicately racy exoticism as Mary Martin in her native (Little Rock) charm. Betta St. John is poetically dainty and graceful as the Tonkinese sweetheart. William Tabbert, the juvenile lead, has none of the tenor slushiness that mars so many singing actors. He is so admirably

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right in his quality and performance I kept wishing the authors would not kill him off. That he fails to return to his ivory-colored island love is, for me, almost the only flaw in the plot. Myron McCormick, as an unregenerate gob, plays with a solid, low-comedy relish. Even the "iron belly" officers are excellently cast: Martin Wolfson has a fine astringent dryness; as Henry James once said of an actor, Harvey Stephens gives a loyal performance.

How clever of Logan and his associates to have set Ezio Pinza down amid the resplendent American corn. They show each other off to advantage. Pinza's qualities, including of course his magnificent voice, have been employed with remarkable tact. The producers' shrewdness consists in making this tall, broad-shouldered, mature and cultured gentleman the hero of the show. Men in the audience respond to Pinza's singing and magnanimously concede that he has an impressive figure, but the women, the women, the poor, deprived women in the audience must swoon at Pinza's kissing. Such sincere, appreciative and manful osculation has not been seen in the theatre hereabouts for a long time. Pinza's performance is so infectious in this respect that the younger couple in the show (Betta St. John and William Tabbert) gives almost as good account of themselves as do the more experienced leads. It helps spread a warm glow over the proceedings.

This is not all. The "chorus" of Seabees is composed of boys who can act, and who sound as well as look as if they might all grow up to be men—like Pinza; the girls are real pretty in the best new (un-Ziegfeldian) tradition.

I am off to Paris, Rome, Tel Aviv. I shall write from those places. I am glad that the last play of the season I was called upon to review was the delectable "South Pacific."

HAROLD CLURMAN

ON THE AIR: Classics and Comics

WHEN "BROADWAY REVIEW," which occupies two networks (NBC-TV and DuMont) from eight to nine, had its première a couple of months ago, I greeted it with little enthusiasm. But the show has grown. Its improvement stems largely from the fact that the producer, Max Liebman, has learned a good deal about cameras and lights.

The principals on "Review" are the same people who were there in the beginning. Sid Caesar, Mary McCarty and Imogene Coca are an amusing trio of videogenic comedians, smart and sophisticated in the tradition of top Broadway musicals, often hilarious in their single acts and excellent in combination. Marge and Gower Champion are extraordinarily good dancers, both sensitive and satirical. The show has ironed out its wrinkles, and now comes over as a finished, intimate review.

On two successive Saturdays, Arturo Toscanini was given enough of NBC's television time to conduct "Aida" in full. He had not only his customary orchestra, but a roster of great soloists and a chorus directed by Robert Shaw. I missed the first two acts on the opening Saturday, but was there for Acts III and IV the following week. NBC made a "simulcast" of the performance, putting the opera on both radio and television. At "Aida," the camera simply looked on. No trick shots were attempted, the television directors showing by their moderation an appreciation of the fact that this was something that angling or use of fancy montage could not improve.

The following afternoon, NBC-TV brought "Julius Cæsar," in a version from which only a few of Shakespeare's original lines were cut. You may recall that CBS did "Cæsar" in modern dress for an hour a month earlier. The CBS piece, with the Romans in trench coats, is being repeated, Sunday, May 1, seven to eight p.m.—and I don't know of a play more worthy of second performance. However, that fact does not detract from the importance of NBC's "Cæsar."

The two productions cannot be compared. Each was excellent; they were simply two different plays. CBS had staged a contemporary morality piece, in which the villain was fascism. NBC took us right back to Elizabethan times.

The NBC "Cæsar" was acted by members of the Masquers, a dramatic group at Amherst College, under the direction of Professor F. Curtis Canfield. The play originated from the Folger Shakespeare Memorial Library in Washington, which has a replica of the two-level Elizabethan stage. Because that stage is the size of a riding academy, proper baffling of sound was probably impossible. The result was a disconcerting series of echoes, but aside from that flaw, the performance was a credit to everyone concerned.

The company was so well trained and prepared for this excursion that, with minor exceptions, it came through on a high professional level. Particularly effective was Arch Taylor, who played Brutus. Owen Davis Jr., who produced the play for NBC, and Garry Simpson, who directed, share the major kudos with Professor Canfield. And the sponsor, Socony-Vacuum, may take a bow for letting identification suffice as advertising plug.

To keep up this enthusiasm for current television, I had to steer clear of some programs. For instance, there was the Henry Morgan 15-minute stint on NBC-TV. Originally he was scheduled to go on five evenings a week, Mondays through Fridays, at 7.30. After one performance, he was cut to three times a week. It was still too much, and the show has now been withdrawn. Morgan, a fine radio comedian, should perhaps forget that television was ever invented.

The failures on television always seem worse than they do on radio. The medium demands so much more. There is a pair of comedians, Grace and Paul Hartman, who have time on NBC-TV Sunday nights. There is the "Lambs' Gambol" on the same net-

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work, same night. The Hartmans can act, and the "Gambol" is under the auspices of New York's famous theatrical hangout, the Lambs Club. Yet neither is worth more than mention—as colossal TV flops.

On radio, NBC has a new team which hasn't as yet shaken down sufficiently. But if the opening was far from perfect, there was promise for those interested in Sunday-night comedy. NBC scouts found the youngsters, Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis, wowing customers in Atlantic City and Miami night clubs. They were groomed for months. Now they have been given the Sunday-at-6:30 time vacated by "Ozzie and Harriet," who returned to their old home on CBS.

Martin sings, pleasantly. Lewis is the squeaky-voiced stooge who is always being pushed around. And there is a girl, Flo McMichael, who is fun in her own right. It's stock stuff, but execution can make it effective comedy if the scripts and situations are worked out to fit the people involved. The opening was marred by the guest, Bob Hope, who seemed to be feeding an extra dose of sight-gags to an amused and extra-loud Hollywood studio audience. They left the home listener annoyed and irritated.

Lewis and Martin are coming to New York in two or three weeks, and their production—as well as their guests—will probably be supervised more carefully. I hope the same goes for their writers. It's so long since radio has had a really new comedian their entry is welcome. SAUL CARSON

MOVIES: Low Company

ACCORDING TO TWO current pictures, "The Set-Up" and "Champion," the prize ring does not improve the character, preserve the physique or produce a nest egg for a hale old age. It is, on the contrary, thoroughly crooked, scandalously unhygienic and pitifully unremunerative—in short, a mugg's game. This message may not come to you as a bombshell, but the pictures promoting it are good.

"The Set Up" is a fine film example of what in journalism goes by the rather fancy name of reportage. It is almost nothing as a story, but as a detailed and unrelenting description of small-time prize fighting it is an almost perfect job.

Robert Ryan, in one of his best performances, plays a shabby, discouraged pug who has made a miserable living in the ring for 20 years. The picture is the story of his last fight, a bout he goes into against the frantic pleas of his wife (Audrey Totter) and one his handlers have sold to a local gangster. Not being told of the deal, Ryan puts on the battle of his career and knocks out the young punk who is supposed to use him as a small step up toward the big time. As a result of this unwitting treachery, Ryan is set upon in an alley and so mercilessly beaten that even he knows he is finished for the ring.

This thread of a story carries some magnificent scenes. They take place in the dirty, crowded dressing room where the gladiators slowly make themselves ready for the ordeal and to which they return feverishly elated or dragged by the arms like poled steers. The scenes take place, also, in the arena, where a crowd of unhappy people find a vicarious revenge. A blind man has brought a companion to describe the blows he can only hear, a fat man eats and drinks incessantly with an appetite obscenely stimulated by the butchery. Mostly, the men wince, but there is a woman in the audience who watches with unblinking eyes and cries in a brassy, taunting voice for more and more. She is one of the furies.

The men around Ryan, the rubbers, the young fighters on the way up, the old ones on the way down, the promoters, the managers, the seconds, are

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detailed and sharply differentiated. Only the gangster (Alan Baxter) seems to come off a studio type shelf.

There is so little honesty and artistry in current film making it seems almost a pity that such a quantity of these rare virtues was spent on the obvious iniquities of the neighborhood fight palace. But at least "The Set Up" is a reassurance that there are still craftsmen around the studios. The picture was made for RKO Radio from a poem by Joseph March. It was produced by Richard Goldstone; directed by Robert Wise. George Tobias, Wallace Ford and David Clarke play key supporting parts.

"Champion" can be summed up briefly as a triumph for Kirk Douglas, who plays the lead, and a disaster for Ring Lardner, who wrote the original story. Lardner's sketch was a biography of the man for whom the word "heel" was invented. His Midge Kelly was a figure of such extravagantly low character and bad manners that he would have seemed preposterous except that Lardner, being an artist, made you uncomfortably certain he knew whereof he spoke. The movie Midge Kelly is no Eagle Scout, but he seems more confused than evil. He wants to be respected (is that bad?), he wants to get ahead (is that bad?), he wants power (that may be bad, but it is not uncommon among the best people).

Since he had few advantages as a child and since he is endowed with more bounce than sensitivity, this Midge takes to pushing people around. He is improved none by the fact that he is an invincible fighter and that he produces a spectacular disturbance in any woman who gets into the same room with him. In short, a fairly unpleasant character, but not small and nasty like Lardner's specimen, whom he would undoubtedly have conked on sight. Furthermore, he pays with his life for the dream he has and the trouble he causes.

Kirk Douglas' portrayal of this rich part has something of Hal Skelly in "Burlesque," something of Paul Muni in "Scarface." It is not as good as either of those famous performances, but it is first-rate and far beyond anything Douglas has turned out heretofore. So, "Champion" is a good picture (I except the ring and boudoir passages as seeming, on the basis of admittedly slight personal knowledge, highly fishy). But why drag Lardner's name into this affair? The few grotesque parallels with the original surely don't justify the claim that he had anything to do with the picture, and it couldn't be that the movie moguls were exploiting a great man's name.

There is nothing in the new import, "Dédée," that the French have not given us many times before. But what is done is done very well. The murk and rust and oily water of the Antwerp dockside scene are photographed by someone who likes their dreary beauty; the tawdry little story is kept alive by a cast of sure actors who handle the familiar types as though each were a wonderful novelty. It is a picture that fades fast, but it creates, at least for its own running time, a fine illusion.

"Dédée" employs a plot device that seems especially popular with French directors. A group of social outcasts is thrown into sentimental focus and its behavior interpreted as only a piquant deviation from recognized bourgeois morality. Thus, the proprietor of a café-bordello is seen as a harassed family man bent on marrying his most lucrative girl to a mature and steady dope smuggler of his acquaintance. The girl herself, on being asked where she's off to, replies with smug virtue, "Well, after all, this is Tuesday—my afternoon for M. Chose." You feel she has a tidy mind, industrious and painstaking. Her pimp, the café doorman, is criticized, not for living on her, but for treating her shabbily.

The attraction of this kind of moral transposition is clear enough; it provides respectable movie patrons with alluring fantasies. They see a society in which almost everyone behaves nicely but where the hobbling conventions are flung right out the window. And since it's fantasy they're after, they won't protest that you can't pitch human behavior high or low on the moral scale like a tune on the piano; that pimps and dope runners and bordello keepers are likely not to be nice people at all.

Simone Signoret, the girl of the yarn, acts with a weary good humor that is touching, but beauty as striking as hers is not usually available on the waterfront. Toward the end, it is hard to take seriously her attempt to portray dewy anticipation of a new life with her morphine Lochinvar, but that is not really her fault. Bernard Blier plays the café owner with an attractive quiet fierceness, and Dalio cringes and fawns and snarls in the way pimps are presumed to do. Marcel Pagliero, as the smuggler, will disappoint those who saw him in "Open City." He seems to have borrowed an old role from Jean Gabin and put it on without much interest in the effect.

As Drew Pearson remarks in an earnest prelude, it always seems to be in the city across the river that high-school crime flourishes. To New Yorkers, and to the producers of the picture, "City Across the River" is specifically Brooklyn, a town that offers scope for a documentary camera. Maxwell Shane, who directed the film for Universal-International, has profited from its possibilities.

The picture is adapted by Irving Shulman from his novel, *The Amboy Dukes*, with the modifications of language and incident obligatory in Hollywood translations. If the story has been softened a bit, it is still far from bland; it comes to the screen as a matter-of-fact, persuasive, exciting and quite frightening episode in the lives of some boys who, lacking any other, chose Murder, Inc., as their model. The details of the picture—the cellar social club, the small jobs done for racketeers, the guns made in the school shop, the killing of a teacher—could seem hysterical if recent newspaper stories did not back them up. On the other hand, the youngsters might appear monstrously depraved if a disturbed but compassionate writer had not discovered the children beneath the hoodlums. Although "City Across

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the River" does almost no preaching and sticks closely to its job of expert story telling, it is a much more vigorous and convincing demonstration of the problem than "Knock on Any Door," for all Bogart's finger wagging.

The central narrative is carried by a group of young actors billed collectively as "The Dukes" (Peter Fernandez, Al Ramsen, Joshua Shelley, Anthony Curtis, Mickey Knox and Richard Jaeckel). Any of these six, perhaps all of them, might develop into a first-rate dramatic actor; as a group they show a remarkable sense of interplay, conflict and clear individuality. They are supported by a good older cast, especially by Luis Van Rooten and Thelma Ritter, who, as the helpless parents of Peter Fernandez, produce striking characterizations in very little footage. "City Across the River" is a rare tonic among films—both good and good for you.

ROBERT HATCH

CORRESPONDENCE

Krug and the Indians

SIR: At the USSR's back door live Alaska's Indians, almost half the population. Their villages were formerly under the Czar; but they now love and have mastered our democratic ways. They live by fishing, logging and hunting on land and waters that they and their forefathers have always owned.

Their livelihood is now threatened by a large-scale boundary dispute. Their opponents insist that they own nothing but their little back yards, that the vast balance of the land should go to the salmon and pulp-timber trusts for exploitation.

Between the contenders stands—or should stand—the democratic institution of even-handed justice. The law makes the Secretary of the Interior arbiter and judge of the controversy. Hearings have been held under his direction. The corporations had 59 lawyers; the Indians had none at all. Yet their case was strong enough to prove itself; the findings and conclusions were in their favor.

Secretary Julius Krug has thus far withheld his signature to the final formal orders confirming Indian ownership. The men of money are flouting the processes of justice and pressing Congress to save their interests. So far they have not succeeded, but last week Indian hopes fell. For the very officer charged with deciding the case—Krug himself—has apparently joined the forces who want Congress to withdraw his authority and make his decision for him.

If Congress yields to the pressure of the corporations, the Indians will be robbed of their living, and perhaps of some of their respect for our democratic institutions. The US will lose a tremendous natural resource and some of its self-respect as a nation. Krug has no right to avoid responsibility. He should do his clear public duty by confirming and protecting the Indians' legal rights.

JAMES E. CURRY
Attorney for the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska
Washington, D. C.

Speed the Parting Guest

SIR: As a non-political group of Canadian students at Columbia University we wish to bring to your readers' attention the treatment of three Canadians who attended the opening banquet of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace on March 25.

Professor Barker Fairley, a scholar of international fame and a man of no political party, his wife Margaret, and Mr. John Goss were taken from the dinner by United States Immigration officials for questioning; Mrs. Fairley and Mr. Goss were asked to leave the country at once for undisclosed reasons and Professor Fairley was released so that he might continue his work as a visiting professor at Columbia University. The incident was reported luridly in the press in a manner that permitted the most serious implications to be drawn from it, and extremely damaging publicity was given to these individuals.

But absolutely no explanation of their offense—if offense there was—has been issued, either to the public, or, apparently, to them. . . .

Without holding any brief for the conference, we wish to say that on the basis of the evidence provided in the press it would seem that these three Canadians were treated arbitrarily and with a crude disregard for good-neighborly relations. . . . We note that the Immigration authorities are apparently prepared neither to explain their actions in this case nor to clear these names. We ask that one action or the other, and perhaps both, be taken.

HARRY S. CROWE; JAMES EAYRS; R. KAMINSKY; R. V. MCCORMACK; VINCENT TOVELL; J. C. WELDON
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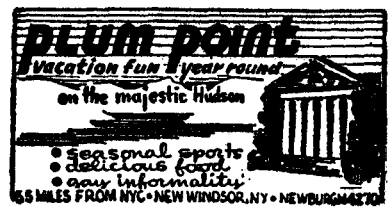
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